

THE

National

AND ENGLISH

Review

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THE

ASCENT

OF

SPUTNIK I

TWO SHILLINGS

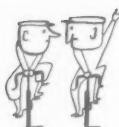
NOV 25 1957

PERIODICAL  
READING ROOM





## the things they say!



*This is the Age of the Common Man, all right!*

Maybe, but even today I doubt if the worker gets  
a proper stake in industry.

*Things are changing, though.*

Not that I've noticed.

*Well, quite a number of concerns now have profit-sharing schemes,  
and some — like I.C.I.'s — also enable their  
employees to become stockholders.*



Yes, but these schemes are only smokescreens.

The bosses simply depress wages

to find the money to pay for them.

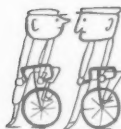
*That's where you're wrong.*

*I.C.I. workers get the wages that have been negotiated on  
their behalf by seventeen Trade Unions. Any benefits*

*they receive under the Company's profit-sharing scheme are over  
and above what they get in their pay envelopes.*



Yes, but I.C.I. isn't Santa Claus. If the wages don't suffer,  
something else must — amenities or something.



*Wrong again, friend. I.C.I.'s policy has led to a steady improvement  
in the service conditions of its employees, and the profit-sharing scheme is just  
another example. From now on, the employees are going forward  
with the stockholders as joint partners in their*

*own efficient and expanding business.*



# THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

CONTENTS

NOVEMBER, 1957

Episodes of the Month. <i>The Editor</i> .. .. .	209
Improving the Welfare State. <i>Geoffrey Howe</i> .. .. .	213
Reforming the Tax System. <i>Patrick Jenkin</i> .. .. .	215
Impressions of Tunisia. <i>Kenneth Rose</i> .. .. .	221
The Impact of Little Rock. <i>Denys Smith</i> .. .. .	224
Correspondence. <i>Commander W. O. Rees Millington; M. J. Abraham</i> .. .. .	228
Books: General:	
Roman Apologists. <i>Canon C. E. Raven</i> .. .. .	229
The Dream Passes. <i>C. M. Woodhouse</i> .. .. .	231
Degrees and Domesticity. <i>M. Stocks</i> .. .. .	234
The Gold Standard. <i>Eric Gillett</i> .. .. .	234
Novels. <i>Milward Kennedy</i> .. .. .	238
Art: Is there a National Type? <i>Michael Jaffé</i> .. .. .	241
Music: Wagner—Then and Now; The Orchestration of Sibelius. <i>Robin Denniston</i> .. .. .	243
British Business To-day: The Influence of Fashion on Industry. <i>Spencer Loch</i> .. .. .	244
Finance. <i>Lombardo</i> .. .. .	246
Records. <i>Alec Robertson</i> .. .. .	248
Crossword No. 15 .. .. .	251

Cover Picture: Mr. Khrushchev in a new perspective. (Camera Press and Picture Post Library.)

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# THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

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## *Episodes of the Month*

### **The Ascent of Sputnik I**

**L**AST month we referred to the Russian claim to have tested an intercontinental ballistic missile. Just before midnight on October 4 this claim was vividly substantiated when the first artificial earth satellite was propelled into space by such a missile. As we go to press the satellite is still revolving in its orbit at tremendous speed, proclaiming to the listening earth the story of Russian technological achievement.

From every point of view, this is an event of massive importance. It brings space travel within the range of practical possibility, and is therefore a dramatic step forward in the material adventure of mankind. It has baleful strategic implications, both in the advantage which it gives to the Russians and in the failure and incompetence which it exposes on the Western side. An unmanned satellite is very useful for reconnaissance, and from a manned satellite a rocket could be aimed with deadly accuracy at a target on the earth. The Americans have all too clearly fallen behind in the rocket race, and they are very conscious of the fact. There is some evidence, indeed, that a spirit akin to that which was provoked by Pearl Harbour is now at work in the United States. The rival firm has not only produced its model sooner, but has produced a bigger and better model. The first American satellite will weigh only 22 lb., whereas Sputnik I weighs 184 lb. Moreover, the Americans

have not yet successfully tested an ICBM (intercontinental ballistic missile). They have been hampered by lack of funds (the Russians, it appears, have been concentrating on ICBM for ten years, the Americans only since 1954) and by inter-service complications. A sharp jolt has now been administered, and past experience encourages us to hope that this will have its effect upon both the Administration and Congress.

### **Propaganda Setback**

**B**UT the worst aspect of the Sputnik is, of course, psychological. The Russians have won a major, bloodless victory in the Cold War. The myth—for it is evidently now a myth—of Western superiority is exploded, and the so-called uncommitted nations will be making their own deductions. No wonder Mr. Macmillan is paying an emergency visit to President Eisenhower. This is indeed a time for agonizing reappraisal—of defence planning and of political strategy. There *must* be an all-round agreement to disarm, and if the price for this is the recognition of spheres of influence, let it be paid. Nothing is more cynical than to urge people on to rebellions which are bound to fail. Nothing would be more foolish than to perpetuate the present insecurity. If we make difficulties for the Russians in Eastern Europe we cannot be surprised at their making difficulties for us in the



Keystone

THE QUEEN AFTER HER TELEVISED ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF CANADA ON OCTOBER 13.

Middle East. We must face the realities of Russian power, while defending our own standards in those parts of the world where we have the means to do so.

It is high time, too, that the Russian economic system received more intelligent and respectful attention from the West. There has been a strong tendency either to dismiss it as inefficient because it is Russian (a view based upon the reading of Russian classics, no longer, for obvious reasons, strictly relevant), or to condemn it as totally immoral because it is Communist. This is sheer silliness. There are, in fact, many features of the modern Russian economy which we cannot afford to overlook and which we should do well to imitate. Capital formation is a case in point. The Russians really believe in personal incentives, but the incentive is not to earn and *spend*—it is to earn and *save*. Until there are sweeping reforms in our whole system of taxation (and some very interesting ideas are put forward by Mr. Patrick Jenkin on a later page) we

shall not be competitive with the Russians in this respect. Perhaps the most alarming figures are those which show the difference in the proportion of steel production devoted to capital projects, as distinct from consumer goods, in the U.K. (about 45 per cent.), the U.S.A. (between 40 and 45 per cent.) and the U.S.S.R. (nearly 80 per cent.). This is writing on the wall for anyone who is capable of projecting his mind more than a few years ahead.

The Sputnik is tangible proof of what the Russian economy can achieve. The challenge must be met, but if it is to be met many traditional ideas and methods will have to go by the board. The only ones which must never be discarded are those which concern the freedom of the individual.

### The Queen in North America

AFTER their summer holiday the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh went through a brief but crowded programme in Canada and the United States. The most notable event in this was the Queen's televised address to the Canadian nation, for which she deserves much praise. The content of this speech was very much better than usual; the wording was simple and direct and the emphasis upon the "Queen of Canada" motif was excellent and timely (though it was perhaps rather unfortunate that her sojourn in Canada should have been referred to as a "visit"; a monarch can surely never be a visitor in her own kingdom?) Above all, the Queen's own manner of speaking in this broadcast has been warmly and justly commended. She has the advantage of a clear and charming voice, but she has tended in the past to deliver her speeches monotonously, mechanically, and with an absence of expression. On this occasion her delivery was much improved, and she has demonstrated to the world and (more important still) to herself that she has little to fear from solo television appearances. Indeed, she shows every sign of being a television star in the making.

## EPISODES OF THE MONTH

She has not yet, however, developed the art—if it can be called an art—of saying a few words off the cuff. When she arrived at Washington Airport, and was greeted by the President, one sentence spoken spontaneously would have been much preferable to the few sentences which were read off a piece of paper. Later, at the Press Club, she made a speech which began very well but deteriorated as it went on. The reason for this was manifest; the opening remarks, being unpretentious and human, seemed to come naturally from the speaker, whereas the rather trite little sermon which followed did not have an authentic ring. The Queen does not have to be oracular; she is not expected to deal with abstract principles or to expound moral values. It is only necessary for her to *be herself*, and if she is completely and unaffectedly herself she will lose no dignity, while gaining those qualities which, in a Queen, are even more precious than dignity.

### The Muggeridge Incident

THE *Saturday Evening Post* for October 19 (on sale in the U.S.A. a few days previously) contained an article on the British Monarchy by Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge. This article, brief extracts from which were quoted in the British Press, caused a minor version of the furore that occurred last August. It also revealed once again that a great many people are prepared to become almost hysterical about something which they have not even read, and that the doctrine that Royalty can only be spoken about or written about in liturgical language has not yet been consigned to the limbo where it belongs.

Mr. Muggeridge is one of our most brilliant journalists. He is not, and would not claim to be, a constructive political thinker, but his satirical comments on contemporary life are by no means destructive; they are immensely valuable as antidotes to vanity, complacency and pretence. The article in question may be

challenged on particular points of fact or opinion, but in general it is a good article, which anyone who cares for the Monarchy should read. There is no evidence in it that the author is anti-monarchist, though of course he writes of the Monarchy as he would write of any other institution—trenchantly, uninhibitedly, irreverently.

On the strength, it was alleged, of viewers' letters (themselves based upon the reading of tendentious Press reports) the B.B.C. not only denied Mr. Muggeridge the chance to speak for himself on the television programme "Panorama," but even went to the ludicrous extent of suggesting that other quite unrelated programmes in which he was concerned might have to be reconsidered—a position from which they later withdrew. At the same time an invitation to another person (whose name escapes us) to appear on the programme "Any Questions" on November 1 was cancelled twenty-four hours after it had been issued. The *Sunday Dispatch*, which had entered into a contract for weekly articles from Mr. Muggeridge, announced on October 20 that it had ended the contract.

These are most unhealthy symptoms. They indicate that on one subject of vital concern to the people of this country and of the whole Commonwealth a censorship is being allowed to operate. There are times, it appears, when the Monarchy must not even be discussed. This is intolerable. It is a gross insult to the Monarchy, since it implies that the institution is so shaky that it cannot withstand the honest comments even of those who believe in it. But quite apart from this, the principle of free speech is at stake. Not long ago the B.B.C. broadcast to Russia a full account of the controversy last August which (in the words of the broadcast) "may promote the development of democratic tendencies which are already emerging in the Royal entourage." And it was also said that "sharp debate is beneficial to the nation and to the Monarchy." Quite so—but why boast of it to the Russians if it is not to be practised in Britain?



LORD HAILSHAM: WHITE HOPE OF THE  
MACMILLAN GOVERNMENT?

A.P.

### Boss Control at Brighton

THE two Party Conferences at Brighton represent the nadir of British democratic politics in the 20th century. At each the bosses were in complete control. The Labour Party accepted Mr. Gaitskell's New Economic Policy—his proposal that the Government should acquire equity shares as an alternative to outright nationalization—and the Executive's line on the H-bomb was defended by Mr. Bevan and endorsed by a huge card vote. At the Conservative Conference the true feelings of Tories throughout the country were blanketed by skilful stage-management. It must be stated firmly that this procedure is a menace to our system of government. In the interest of stability and majority rule it is right and necessary that there should be only two parties competing for effective power. But within those two parties there should be free and open controversy; the real issues should emerge and should be resolved democratically. So long as the Central Office clique, with its many satellite cliques in the constituencies, is

able to dominate the Tory Party, and so long as the the trade unions are able to dominate the Labour Party, democracy in Britain will be no more than a phrase.

### The Quintessence of Quintin

MR. GAITSKELL was, of course, the winner at his Conference. For the time being he is in the ascendant. Principle and emotion have succumbed to the exigencies of winning the next Election. The Labour Party, he said, "must not be frightened of new ideas" (an admission, it seems, that new ideas have frightened it in the past). But what of his "new" idea—the proposal for Government shareholding in industry? Has he never heard of Disraeli and the Suez Canal shares, or of British Petroleum?

On the Conservative side the most successful performer was Lord Hailsham, and he deserved his success because, unlike so many politicians, he is a genuine man. It must not be forgotten, however, that he is also a man of exceptionally infirm judgment. As a "key-noter" he is superb; as a maker of policy he is liable to be disastrous. His debut in politics was at the Oxford bye-election in 1938, when he was returned as a passionate advocate of Munich. His theme at that election (as during the Suez incident last year) was loyalty to the leader, and among those who came down to speak for his opponent was his present leader, Mr. Harold Macmillan. Those were the days!

### Next Month

A challenging article on the  
Church of England by  
*Canon Mervyn Stockwood*

A Christmas satire by  
*John Verney*

Articles by *Peter Kirk, M.P.*,  
and *Anthony Wedgwood Benn,*  
*M.P.* (which have had to be  
held over from this month)

# IMPROVING THE WELFARE STATE

By GEOFFREY HOWE

A SOCIAL service has two essential characteristics. First, it is rendered to an individual or to a single household (e.g. a family allowance) rather than for the benefit of the community at large. Secondly, it contains some element of re-distribution.

The most important distinguishing feature between the various social services is the extent to which the beneficiary undergoes any test of means. Free of any such test at present are the educational service (apart from further education), family allowances, national insurance benefits, and the health services (except so far as "charges" may be reimbursed to certain patients). On the other hand, further education, housing subsidies (with many local exceptions), services for children and old people, legal aid and national assistance are all subject to some kind of means test. The various tests imposed include the simple necessity to prove need (with legal aid for example), the graduated charge (as with old peoples' services), the charge recoverable upon proof of need (under the National Health Service), and direct taxation of the benefit in the hands of the recipient. One should not forget, finally, "the psychological means test" which undoubtedly prevents many poor people, who like to be thought well off, from using certain services.

It appears at first sight simple enough to resolve this illogical tangle by applying the dogma of one or other political party. But even the traditional Socialist view, that all means tests must go, breaks down in face of the necessity for some check on public demand. There is no theoretical reason why all the necessities of life should not be distributed by the State, free of charge; but in practice the suggestion is absurd. On the other hand, the conventional Tory view, that no benefit should be granted except upon proof of need, is

equally damaging, for this is the surest way of helping only the feckless, penalizing the thrifty, and making the State keeper of every conscience.

A closer examination of particular services leads, however, to more constructive conclusions. All fees for education up to secondary level were finally abolished in 1944. This service cannot be abused, since it is available in kind only to people of the appropriate ages; it serves, moreover, the clearest community purpose, since pupils should be impelled towards school rather than away from it. For further education, however, where the student himself chooses and pays towards his own training, the imposition of a graduated charge is no doubt a sensible discipline. Quite unjustifiable, on the other hand, is the rigid application of a means test to the parents of State or county scholars at the university. The principal effect of this rule is to deprive the eldest child of a university training, so that his parents can afford the prep. school fees of a younger brother. Much valuable talent is thus lost to the nation.

In education two other changes should be made: a substantial widening of the entry to the public schools by generous state grants—a vital investment in social unity—and the restoration of a certain number of *paid* places at the grammar schools. This last step—on a modest scale—would not militate against equality of opportunity; it would, however, acknowledge that the conferment of some advantage on one's children is still a most powerful incentive—and it would allow this incentive to operate for many not-so-rich parents.

No substantial change is called for in a second category of services, for all of which the beneficiary makes some payment according to a graduated scale. These cater for particular misfortunes, which it



would be difficult to insure against specifically. Chief among them are those for legal aid, old peoples' and childrens' homes, and home-help services for the disabled. In all these cases it is, of course, important that the income scale should be varied in accordance with changes in the cost of living. Legal aid, for example, is now available to a rapidly dwindling minority, since the income scales were fixed about eight years ago. Would it not be wise if all such scales were directly tied to changes in the basic National Assistance figures?

There remain four services where the problems are most intractable: housing subsidies, injury and sickness insurance, old age insurance, and, residually, National Assistance. Two general principles appear paramount here. First, administration should be made as simple as possible, so that redistribution of resources (with consequent waste) only occurs where it cannot be avoided. In other words, people who will eventually be left in the same net position should not be required to contribute towards and to receive benefits from the State. Secondly, it should not be permissible to contract out of a service where an element of redistribution is clearly involved. It might *seem* reasonable to allow the private patient to contract out of the National Health Service—but from this it would follow that the top-hat-pensionable director should opt out of National Insurance, and the fee-paying parent or the childless bachelor out of liability for taxes towards the cost of education. In this way the strong would effect their own arrangements and the weak eventually be left to fend for themselves. The basic (and surely accepted) principle of the Welfare State would thus be entirely destroyed.

Three questions then arise for consideration in respect of each of these services. What standard should the State endeavour to achieve for (or impose upon) the individual? How far should this standard of assistance be bestowed (or imposed) regardless of the means of the recipient? And, finally, how far and in what way should the State try to create a sense of responsibility in its beneficiaries—by ex-

acting specific payments towards the cost of particular services?

So far as housing subsidies are concerned these questions are fairly simply answered. Desirable standards of accommodation have been closely defined in the Housing Acts, and are being enforced by inspection, slum-clearance and subsidy. Plainly each family should be required to pay as much of the market price as possible for the necessity which is being provided; the only danger of irresponsibility in the use of house-room is where subsidized families are guilty of under-occupation. The problems in this field would therefore be solved if all the needy families were to dwell in the council houses and receive appropriate subsidy. To this end it is essential that local authorities should operate effective rent rebate schemes—and the many reluctant Socialist councils should be obliged by law to do so. Even so, many "rich" tenants would continue to under-occupy council houses and many poor families would remain—in financial difficulties—in private properties. Direction of tenants is unacceptable, but exchange and transfer schemes should be operated wherever possible. Those poor tenants who nevertheless remained in expensive private property would have to be given assistance—ideally by a specific housing subsidy. Some suggestions as to the mechanics of this are made below.

The standard set by the National Health Service is simple enough—comprehensive treatment for all. To some extent—in the case of infectious diseases, for example—the State has an interest in imposing this standard, regardless of the means of the patient. On the other hand, there are many cases where a "free" service can be and is abused. There is finally the need to raise almost £700 million annually to pay for this service. If, under a tax system recast along the lines suggested by Mr. Patrick Jenkin, this sum could be raised apart from insurance stamps (which even now contribute only £80 million) this would seem desirable. It is suggested, in addition, that the service would be better appreciated if charges were imposed for its use at almost every

## IMPROVING THE WELFARE STATE

stage as well, for example, as for the cost of accommodation while in hospital. Only £35 million is at present raised by means of charges to patients; this sum could be very substantially increased so long as arrangements were made, as suggested below, for remittance or exemption in case of need.

There remains the question of pensions—for the injured, the workless, the sick and the aged. In this field reform is already an urgent necessity—not on account of the Socialist initiative, but simply because the fund is about to go heavily into deficit. Anyone, moreover, with eyes to see the pitiful state of many of our old people to-day must realize the need for treating them more generously—and at once.

Theoretically four attitudes are possible. First, the Beveridge standard—a universal rate of benefit at subsistence level; this has been repeatedly eroded by inflation since 1946, so that we are now near to applying the second principle, payment of a “dole” only on proof of need. (In 1956 2½ million people claimed National Assistance.) This approach is surely destructive of all self-respect. Thirdly, we may join the Labour Party in a comprehensive and compulsory redistributive pension scheme, which would finally deprive the individual of all sense of responsibility for his own future. Finally, and this is much to be preferred, we can

raise contributions to the present scheme substantially (based upon a percentage of income, with complete exemption for all low incomes) so as to provide from the fund a much more satisfactory flat-rate pension as of right. The acquisition of a better pension above that figure should be left to individual initiative and to an extension—under private control—of occupational pension schemes which already cover one-third of the working population. The State should intervene in this field only to enforce transferability between different schemes, so as to ensure mobility of labour, and to create a special supplementary pension scheme—available to those workers who are employed by small businesses, farms and the like (with no occupational scheme of their own).

There remains National Assistance—with a much reduced rôle, perhaps combined with a machinery for repay-as-you-earn in a recast tax structure, and also responsible for making payments of housing subsidies to needy private tenants and repayments of Health Service charges. Its amalgamation with the tax system and operation upon the basis of code-numbers should go far to remove the social stigma of being “on the parish,” and with it the psychological means test.

Along these lines there is ample scope for radical Tory reform of the social services.

GEOFFREY HOWE.

## REFORMING THE TAX SYSTEM

By PATRICK JENKIN

THE Tories won the election of 1955 because, so it has been suggested, they understood, as their opponents failed to understand, the social and economic changes that had taken place since the war. Understanding is not enough, however, and if Conservatives are to win the next election their programme must include measures to adapt the institutions of the

country to the rapidly changing social and economic climate.

High on the list of institutions ripe for reform is the taxation system. It is not enough simply to complain that taxes are too high, nor is it enough to wait for something to turn up. The simple truth is that so long as the nation's defence and welfare commitments continue to run at



## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

or near their present level, there is no hope of reducing the amount of tax levied. If the State is to spend, individuals and corporations must be prevented from spending. The only hope of reducing the weight of the burden is to increase the national product while keeping the level of State spending more or less static, so reducing the proportion of the national income drained off by taxation.

Now this can, and no doubt will, be achieved even with the existing system of taxation, although in many ways it actually militates against any increase in the national product. Standards of living go up despite taxation. It is the purpose of this article to suggest the lines upon which the system should be reformed, so that it will actively promote prosperity while, at the same time, maintaining many characteristics of the present system which would no doubt be considered indispensable.

The principal conditions necessary for economic expansion are as follows:

*Investment.* Although, as recent studies have shown, Britain does not lag as far behind her neighbours as is sometimes imagined, it cannot be denied that a higher rate of investment is essential if we are to increase, or indeed maintain, our share of the world's trade.

The present tax system hinders investment in two ways. First, the proportion of a company's profits which goes in taxation is, in many cases, too high to leave enough for re-equipment, let alone expansion. In other cases, the differential rates for Profits Tax encourage a company to retain profits which might be put to much better use if distributed and invested elsewhere.

*Higher Productivity.* Not only must there be capital equipment; it must also be used as intensively as possible. This means greater efforts, particularly by management and technicians. The key to this lies in increased incentives. Yet it would scarcely be possible to devise a greater disincentive than an income tax which taxes the rewards for extra effort at the individual's marginal rate of tax.

*Savings.* It is a commonplace that investment, if it is not to set up

inflationary pressures, must be matched by savings. The fact that, at present, a man's savings are taxed at exactly the same rate as the income he spends, is one of the principal factors tending to keep the inflow of savings below the desirable level. A tax based on expenditure rather than on income would have the opposite effect.

*No Distortion of the Economy.* The present Purchase Tax system, by charging tax at different rates on different commodities, not only prevents people having the greatest possible freedom of choice, but undoubtedly affects our competitive power abroad by distorting the pattern of home sales.

In addition to promoting these economic ends, any fiscal system in this country should incorporate three important features. First, it should be fair. This used to mean that the tax should be proportional. In the present century it has come to mean that the tax should be progressive—the higher the income, the higher the effective rate. There is much to be said for this principle at the higher income levels. Lower down, however, a simple proportionate tax would be simpler and, perhaps, more equitable.

One of the criticisms of the present system is that by maintaining the exemption limit at a low level, the Chancellor levies tiny amounts of tax on millions of small incomes. Not only does this increase the administrative costs out of all proportion to the revenue raised, but it also makes imperative an elaborate system of reduced rates if hardship is to be avoided. These make the tax progressive, even at the lowest levels. I am not convinced that this is necessary. Provided that a larger number of incomes were exempted altogether, and tax became chargeable at a higher starting point, it seems to me that there is much to be said for a simple proportional tax, at any rate on earned income.

This change could also be supported on wider grounds. The attitude "Let's have more welfare, and let's make someone else pay for it" is not one which should commend itself to any Tory. There is a great deal of force in the argument that,

## REFORMING THE TAX SYSTEM

if welfare benefits are to be increased, they should be paid for, not by a progressive tax, but by a proportionate tax. If this principle is confined to earned income, below the surtax levels, the needs of equity would be satisfied.

The second requirement is that, as between taxpayers with equal means, the system must take account of family and other responsibilities. Thirdly, it must differentiate between earned and unearned income.

There are two further factors which must be mentioned at this stage. In general, it is true that indirect taxes (e.g. Purchase Tax, Tobacco Duty, etc.) are more easily and cheaply collected than direct taxes (e.g. income tax, profits tax). In the year 1955-56 the cost to the Government of collecting each pound of indirect taxes was about 1½d., whereas the cost of collecting each pound of direct taxes was nearly double this—about 3½d. Furthermore, the scope for evasion is less with indirect than with direct taxes, and there is far less litigation.

The other factor, which I merely assert, is that the inherent characteristics of a company as taxpayer are quite different from those of an individual. The fact that companies pay income tax at the standard rate is simply a historical survival. (It is noteworthy that, although the majority of the Radcliffe Commission recommended no change in this respect, they were quite unable to find any rational justification for the present position.)

These, then, are the points which must guide the reformer. Before coming to my suggestions, however, I must mention a few alternative schemes which have been proposed in recent years.

The Minority Report of the Radcliffe Commission recommended a Capital Gains Tax as an addition to the present range of taxes. So long as tax is based on income, there is much to be said for this in theory on the grounds of equity. Why it must be rejected, and rejected with great firmness, is that if levied at rates high enough to warrant the cost of collection, it would effectively halt the process of capital formation. Since, in a modern industrial

community, rising standards of living depend on an ever higher ratio of capital assets to workers employed, a capital gains tax would put an end to all hopes of doubling the standard of living in twenty-five years. Furthermore, it is an administrative monstrosity and, as between one taxpayer and another, can give rise to gross inequity.

Another suggestion has been the substitution for surtax of a direct Expenditure Tax. This has much to commend it, in that, unlike the Capital Gains Tax, it attempts to attack the causes of the present unsatisfactory state of affairs rather than the symptoms. Where it is found wanting is mainly that its champion, Mr. Nicholas Kaldor, is compelled to admit that a direct, progressive Expenditure Tax is, administratively, highly complex. He is forced, on this account, to confine the tax to surtax payers. My contention is that, thus restricted, it does not go nearly far enough. The great changes that have occurred in the last few decades have entirely altered the pattern of income distribution. Purchasing power and, more important, savings potential, have been transferred from a few very rich men to millions of middle and lower income group people. An Expenditure Tax which fails to exert its influence upon those classes will fail in its purpose. Quite apart from this objection, however, it should be pointed out that Mr. Kaldor's approach differs substantially from mine. He is more interested in what he conceives to be equity, while I am concerned with tax as an economic instrument. And I do not share Mr. Kaldor's patent aversion to the accumulation of wealth. Nevertheless, a modified Expenditure Tax, on Kaldor lines, could well form a useful, but subsidiary, component of my tax system.

I have now reached the point where I can set out my own suggestions. Basically, they are three in number. *The Income Tax on earned income would be replaced by a new flat rate Sales Tax levied, I suggest, at 25 per cent. on all personal consumption (i.e. goods and services) other than food, housing and fuel. This would be an*

# THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

TABLE 1

*The Yield of Direct and Indirect Taxes, 1956-57*

Source: *Monthly Digest*

	£m.	£m.	%
<b>DIRECT</b>			
Income Tax . . . . .	2,132.5		
Surtax . . . . .	157.3		
Profits Tax and E.P.L. . . . .	198.5		
Stamp Duty . . . . .	63.4		
Other . . . . .	0.7		
<b>Total</b> . . . . .		2,552.4	52.8
<b>INDIRECT</b>			
Tobacco . . . . .	701.8		
Purchase Tax . . . . .	457.8		
Wines, Spirits and Beer . . . . .	417.0		
Hydrocarbon oils . . . . .	337.9		
Cinema Entertainment Duty . . . . .	34.8		
Betting . . . . .	29.1		
Other (mainly protective duties) . . . . .	130.0		
<b>Total</b> . . . . .		2,108.4	43.7
Estate Duty . . . . .		168.0	3.5
<b>TOTAL</b>		4,828.8	100

indirect tax, in that it would be collected at the point of purchase (like tobacco duty) and not assessed directly on the spender. It would be accompanied by a system of tax repayments which would be so scaled as to ensure that people below a certain income level would recover all the tax which they would be presumed to have paid, and that account would be taken of claims for children, dependents and other similar allowances.

After thus making provision for an exemption limit, and for family responsibilities, the tax would be a simple proportional tax. But, instead of being proportional to income, it would be proportional to expenditure: no spending, no tax. The tax would also supersede Purchase Tax, but would be in addition to the Excise Duties on drink, tobacco, etc.

*The second suggestion is that unearned income would be treated differently. It*

*would be subject to a progressive Income Tax, as at present, but at rates considerably lower than those in force to-day, say, at four or five shillings in the pound. The repayment scheme would ensure that those with small unearned incomes would, in addition to being exempt from the income tax, receive graduated repayments so as to reimburse them for all, or part (as, the case might be) of any Sales Tax paid by them. A further refinement would be to treat the first £100 of unearned income as earned, and, therefore, to exclude it from the Income Tax. If it were spent, it would, of course, attract the Sales Tax.*

Surtax could remain either as at present constituted, or, alternatively, it could be replaced by an Expenditure Tax on the Kaldor pattern, suitably modified to fit the rest of the system. At any rate, whatever its form, it would tax the higher incomes, earned and unearned, on a

## REFORMING THE TAX SYSTEM

progressive basis. (For simplicity's sake, it would, obviously, be advantageous if the unearned Income Tax and Surtax were, in fact, a single progressive Income Tax, though at the higher levels, as I indicated above, earned income would have to be included.)

A subsidiary effect of these changes would be to simplify administration. Only those liable to Income Tax or Surtax would have to make returns of income; claims for repayment of Sales Tax—a sort of "repay-as-you-earn"—would be relatively simple to operate. One of the less desirable features of the present system of P.A.Y.E. is the administrative burden imposed on employers. With the repayment system, independent as it would be of the ascertainment of income, it would be possible to centralize administration, though the pay-packet would continue to be used as the means whereby repayments would reach the taxpayer.

The third feature of the new system would be the replacement of the existing company tax structure, by a single rate corporation Profits Tax with a rate, say 40 per cent., substantially lower than the combined rates of Income and Profits Tax. Distributions would not attract tax at a higher rate, but dividends, etc., would be subject to the personal income and surtax in the shareholders' hands as unearned income. In a sense this is double taxation but, provided the rates are not penal, no hardship need be involved. This system would not only recognize the fact, stated above, that a company is a different kind of taxpaying entity from an individual, but would do away with the distributed Profits Tax which is such a pernicious and misconceived feature of present-day corporate taxation.

I have endeavoured to assess the effect of these changes on the Exchequer Revenue. Table 1 sets out the yield of direct and indirect taxes in the fiscal year 1956-57. Table 2 sets out the C.S.O.'s guesses as to the total personal expenditure in the same period. (These expenditure statistics are notoriously unreliable and conclusions based on them must be highly speculative.) In Table 3 I estimate the net yield of the

TABLE 2

*Personal Expenditure, 1956-57*

Source : *Monthly Digest*

	£m.
Food . . . . .	4,390
Drink and Tobacco . . . . .	1,853
Housing . . . . .	1,132
Fuel and Light . . . . .	594
Durable Household Goods . . . . .	950
Clothes and Footwear . . . . .	1,351
Travel and Entertainment . . . . .	695
Other . . . . .	2,549
<b>TOTAL . . . . .</b>	<b>13,514</b>

TABLE 3

*Estimated Yield of Sales Tax*

(Based on 1956-57 Statistics)

	£m.
<b>PERSONAL EXPENDITURE . . . . .</b>	<b>13,514</b>
<i>Less</i> Food . . . . .	4,390
Housing . . . . .	1,132
Fuel and Light . . . . .	594
Purchase Tax . . . . .	458
	<b>6,574</b>
	<b>6,940</b>
<i>Plus</i> Income Tax on Earned Income, say . . . . .	1,000
	<b>7,940</b>
<i>Less</i> Additional Savings (say 10 per cent.) . . . . .	794
	<b>7,146</b>
Sales Tax at 25 per cent. . . . .	1,786
<i>Less</i> Repayments, say . . . . .	286
<b>NET YIELD . . . . .</b>	<b>1,500</b>

# THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

TABLE 4

*Estimated Yield of Direct and Indirect Taxes on New System*

	£m.	£m.	%
<b>DIRECT</b>			
Income Tax (on investment income only) . . . . .	450		
Company Tax . . . . .	900		
Surtax (or Direct Expenditure Tax) . . . . .	200		
Stamp Duty . . . . .	60		
Total . . . . .	—	1,610	33.2
<b>INDIRECT</b>			
Sales Tax . . . . .	1,500		
Tobacco . . . . .	700		
Wines, Spirits and Beer . . . . .	400		
Hydrocarbon oils . . . . .	300		
Cinema Entertainment Duty . . . . .	30		
Betting . . . . .	29		
Other . . . . .	130		
Total . . . . .	—	3,089	63.7
Estate Duty . . . . .		150	3.1
<b>TOTAL</b>		4,849	100

Sales Tax. It cannot be emphasized too strongly that this is only one man's guess; only an experienced statistician, with access to Government records, could form an accurate estimate of the yield at any particular rate. Nevertheless, my figure of £1,500 million is near enough the sort of figure I would like to see.

One guess of mine, which should not escape without specific mention, is my estimate of additional savings. This, quite frankly, is optimistic. It represents nearly half as much again as the present rate of personal savings. The main reason why I pitch the estimate as high as this is, of course, that an indirect Sales Tax should be far more conducive to savings than an Income Tax. An additional reason, and I have not attempted to guess its extent, is the effect on earnings of the removal of P.A.Y.E. It could be substantial, for the disincentive effect of the present marginal rates of Income Tax is

very marked. If the removal of P.A.Y.E. should lead to a sizeable increase in personal earnings, it is not, I think, unrealistic to hope for a corresponding rise in personal savings.

Finally, in Table 4, an estimate is made of the amounts which direct and indirect taxes might yield under the new system. The particular feature to note here is the shift in emphasis from direct to indirect taxation. At present, direct taxation accounts for 52.8 per cent., indirect for 43.7 per cent., and Estate Duty for 3.5 per cent. Under the new system there is a shift of about 10.5 per cent from direct to indirect taxes, the new figures being, respectively, 33.2 per cent., 63.7 per cent. and 3.1 per cent. This is a pretty drastic change, but it is my view that nothing less than a drastic revision of the tax structure in this country will meet the needs of the situation.

It is all too obvious that Britain is under

## REFORMING THE TAX SYSTEM

a steady and relentless economic pressure, both at home and abroad. Demands on resources at home and competition abroad are making it increasingly difficult for the Government—any Government—to keep the ship of state afloat. The situation will only be solved by higher productivity, higher investment and higher savings. These in turn require more incentives to earn and less readiness to spend. Is it too

much to ask that the tax system should promote these objectives and not actively discourage them? Must the country continue to struggle along under a system—devised over 150 years ago—which is as outdated and as hampering as the crinoline? If Britain is to survive there must be radical changes.

PATRICK JENKIN.

## IMPRESSIONS OF TUNISIA

By KENNETH ROSE

A FEW days ago I had the good fortune to be invited to a feast in the Holy City of Kairouan, which lies about 100 miles south of Tunis. The occasion was the Islamic festival of the Mouled, the birthday of the Prophet, and President Bourguiba of Tunisia had driven from the capital to be present.

It took place in the gracefully colonnaded and tiled courtyard of the tomb of Sidi Sahab, a close companion of the Prophet reputed always to have carried on his person three hairs from the beard of his master. Shoeless and cross-legged, we sat on cushions before a low table enjoying the Arab hospitality of tradition.

Perhaps Flaubert alone, with his astonishing ability to see Tunisian life through Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer spectacles, could have done justice to the scene. There were sheep roasted whole and pans of couscous, the national dish of semolina, as big as English dining-tables. There were cornucopias of fruit and hectares of little cakes and tiny glasses of aromatic tea. There were even bottles of Evian water, no doubt imported at great expense to do honour to the esoteric tastes of the guests.

When our hands had been sprinkled with rose water we left the tables to be cleared, and sat on rugs under the colonnade. A dozen or so of the city fathers gathered round the President, full of chaff and witty exchanges and bursts of laughter. No group of old farmers in for

the day could have enjoyed themselves more.

So the festival continued, with poems recited in Mr. Bourguiba's honour and little coloured lights and rooftops of veiled Arab ladies greeting him with the twittering song of nightingales. Horsemen with gold and silver harness had ridden in to let off a *feu de joie* in honour of the President, and all the shops were hung with rugs; one, I noticed, embodied a faithful reproduction of Landseer's *Monarch of the Glen*.

The next morning, in a shiny black Lincoln car with escort of motor-cycles, Mr. Bourguiba was swept back to Tunis—and to the process of social and economic revolution by which he is attempting to modernize the face of Tunisia.

Those who speak glibly of the politician's lust for power might do well to ponder the responsibilities which Habib Bourguiba's successful struggle for Tunisian independence has brought him. The country covers an area of 79,000 square miles, about a third the size of Algeria or a quarter the size of France. Nearly half of it consists of rainless, unproductive soil.

Yet the country must support a population of four million, increasing at an alarming rate. In the last twenty-five years it has grown by nearly 70 per cent. Out of every 100 inhabitants, 42 are under the age of fifteen. For every employed adult there are five dependants, and each new generation of 120,000 children can





Tunisian Government.  
TALKING ABOUT POLYGAMY? PRESIDENT BOURGUIBA  
IN CONVERSATION WITH SHEIKH CHADLY BELKADHI.

look forward to little hope of regular employment.

President Bourguiba's most hopeful thought is the possibility that oil may be discovered in Tunisia. The Shell Company, I am told, have now abandoned their experiments after spending about £7 million on exploration. There is always the possibility, however, that should oil be discovered elsewhere in North Africa, the Tunisian port of Gabes might become a prosperous pipe-line terminus and refinery.

Nor has the frontier between Algeria and Tunis in the desert yet been ratified. It may be that Tunisia could one day push this frontier further west by negotiation, and so include within her boundaries land nearer to the oil producing area. Meanwhile the fundamental economic problems of Tunisia remain.

At present the north and east of Tunisia prosper. The French have introduced admirably modern methods of farming, for which the Tunisians give them less than a fair share of gratitude. There are large areas of wheat in the north, as well as fine herds of cattle with a strong strain of Jersey blood.

On the eastern coast are vast olive groves, which provide about 20 per cent.

of the total agricultural income. An early surprise on visiting Tunisia was to find that Lear's Gromboolian Plain actually exists. Far from it being a place of "awful darkness and silence," however, it contains some of the most attractive land of the Cap Bon peninsula, planted with oranges, lemons and pomegranates.

Rich as they are, these agricultural tracts cannot support Tunisia's swelling population. A great deal of capital has been usefully spent on developing hydro-electric power and irrigation schemes from the country's one sizable river, the Medjerda. Its resources cannot be stretched indefinitely. Afforestation of the interior offers a more hopeful solution, particularly as archaeologists estimate that the country once supported a population of about 14 millions. This, however, is a slow process, and there are obvious difficulties in protecting the young trees which one day will attract rain from the attentions of fuel-gatherers and goats.

Industrially, Tunisia is even less developed. There is a little lignite in the Cap Bon peninsula, some lead and zinc, and a small phosphates industry. There are also plans to attract tourists to some of the most enchanting coastlines I have ever seen.

But the need for investment capital remains. So necessary is it, in fact, that it must have an appreciable influence upon President Bourguiba's foreign policy. His country still relies for much of its economic support on France. Even if he were not anxious to retain cultural links with Tunisia's former Protecting Power, material need would dictate such a course.

At the same time, Tunisia feels great sympathy for her neighbouring Arab state, Algeria, now engaged in a savage conflict with the French occupying forces. It is even believed that the Tunisian Government turns a blind eye to—even if it does not actually organize—a supply of arms to the Algerian rebels. Bourguiba would like to see Algeria gain her independence from France, but would regret the utter and immediate collapse of the French administrative machine there.

So the President walks warily across the



## IMPRESSIONS OF TUNISIA

North African scene—feeling deeply for his Arab brethren, yet deploring that the rebel leaders will not negotiate for independence by stages, as he himself did on behalf of Tunisia; showing impatience at the reluctance of the French to withdraw their last troops from Tunisia, yet valuing French trade.

He is also concerned, while bringing the new independent Tunisia superficially into line with the Western institutions he so much admires, to obliterate those relics of the 75-year French Protectorate which offend Tunisian nationalism. Thus the French Judicial Codes are being replaced by almost identical Tunisian Codes—though a shortage of trained Tunisian magistrates has obliged him to retain French magistrates on contract for the transitional period, particularly in the commercial courts.

Bourguiba's popularity appears to be immense and genuine. If there is opposition at all, it comes from the older Moslem traditionalists. They are uneasy at the dissolution of the religious courts, at the campaign against the wearing of the veil by women, at the secularization of religious lands. Though the practice of polygamy is dwindling, they also feel that the President's strictures on it are out of place. If the Prophet said that polygamy was permissible, they ask, who is Bourguiba to correct him?

The ancient rabbinical courts have also been dissolved. While in Tunis I read a Government statement which firmly declared: "Malgré les services appréciables que cette vieille juridiction a rendus, elle n'est plus de notre temps." There is, however, a large and prosperous Jewish congregation in Tunis, and almost alone among Arab countries Tunisia feels no hatred for either the conception or the State of Israel.

It is impossible to leave Tunisia without a feeling of admiration at the burden which President Bourguiba bears so cheerfully, so professionally. The Tunisia of Kairouan, of camels, of palm trees and of picturesque souks must indeed seem remote as he sits in the former audience chamber of the Beys, now full of tele-



SCIPIO WAS WRONG!

phones and filing cabinets, pondering how best he can attract the foreign capital his country so desperately needs.

When Vice-President Nixon of the United States visited Tunis its inhabitants were perhaps a little tactless to greet him with the cry of "dollars, dollars." So far, few have arrived, though a consignment of arms is due this month. The eventual settlement of the Algerian conflict will no doubt increase the flow.

Considering the immense amounts of Western capital which have been fruitlessly poured into Arab countries for political purposes, I should be sorry to see Tunisia passed by. President Bourguiba is well established as the leader of his country; he is strongly anti-Communist; he thinks of Tunisia as part of the West rather than as an outpost of the Pan-Arab world; he would be willing that the vast naval fortress of Bizerta constructed by the French should be at the disposal of the N.A.T.O. Powers.

Certainly his horizons are not bounded by the frontiers of Tunisia. And if, as some shrewd observers think probable, he cherishes a desire to rule a federation composed of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, it need cause no alarm in London, Paris or New York.

KENNETH ROSE.

# THE IMPACT OF LITTLE ROCK

By DENYS SMITH

THE United States Army has returned to the South after ninety-two years. Its immediate purpose was to see that six Negro girls and three Negro boys could attend Little Rock Central High School, hitherto reserved for White students only. But it revived bitter memories of the Civil War and the Reconstruction period, when the South was occupied territory. The Reconstruction period is often called "the tragic era," while one recent history of the Civil War and its aftermath, by W. E. Woodward, was entitled *Years of Madness*. Once again people are fearful that another tragic era and more years of madness are at hand. People of one section are pitted in anger against those of another, race is set against race and extremism on one side is encouraging extremism on the other, much as the "carpet-baggers" and "scalawags" led to the rise of the original Ku-Klux-Klan.

The tragedy is that only a few years ago things looked so promising. Memories of the Civil War had begun to fade into history and the struggle of the Blues and the Greys seem as remote in America as those of the Cavaliers and Roundheads in England. Even in the North the Confederacy was being surrounded with a kind of sentimental affection. The Confederate flag was shown in places where it had never been seen in Civil War days and there was a marked revival of Confederate songs and marches such as *The Yellow Rose of Texas*. Men from the North and South had fought shoulder to shoulder in three subsequent wars, the Spanish and two world wars. The South had risen from its ruins, thrown off its burden of debt and was sharing in national prosperity. It had begun to spend more on education (a State responsibility under the Constitution), providing better facilities for both Whites and Negroes. Progress

was being made in race relations. More and more Negroes were voting and taking part in community affairs. The issue of a Federal law to prevent lynchings which used to occupy Congress for weeks and even months at a time before the war had now become academic, for lynchings themselves had disappeared.

This progress had been made while the school system of the South was operating under a policy supported by the Supreme Court of providing separate and equal schools for the two races. Then in 1954 the Supreme Court suddenly declared that the policy endorsed by past Supreme Courts must be reversed. Any school supported by State funds must be open to both races on equal terms.

Little Rock, and the State of Arkansas of which it is the capital, had shared, and even improved upon, the general racial progress in the South. It had been free of race troubles for a generation. The colour-bar had been growing less noticeable. It had ended segregation on buses a year ago without any fuss. Negro voters were not obstructed at the polls. The State colleges and universities were opened to both races several years ago. There was the usual Southern social segregation. There were separate public swimming pools and separate washrooms in public buildings. The residential areas were segregated, as indeed they are by custom in most Northern cities. There was also segregation in the coeducational high schools. Incidentally it is the fact that coeducational schools are the general rule which strengthens Southern opposition to integration. It means the mingling of White and Negro students of the opposite sex and thus impinges upon social life.

The decision of the Supreme Court in 1954 constituted a big change in public policy which was not brought about by

## THE IMPACT OF LITTLE ROCK



A.P.

POLICE AT LITTLE ROCK HOLDING BACK A CROWD AFTER EIGHT NEGRO STUDENTS HAD ENTERED THE CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL ON SEPTEMBER 23.

the normal method of full public debate and a majority vote of the legislature. It was brought about by the conclusion of the nine men who constituted the contemporary Supreme Court. The reasoning of the Supreme Court was that "separate educational facilities generate (among Negroes) a feeling of inferiority as to their status in a community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone"; hence these separate facilities are "inherently unequal," and deprive Negroes of "the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment." But for years after the adoption of the amendment students of the Constitution, including Woodrow Wilson, took for granted that the Fourteenth Amendment could not cover the area of public education in the States, and successive Supreme Courts had upheld the view.

The Supreme Court decision on the schools removed a State power that to Wilson and others could be removed only by specific constitutional amendment. Southerners considered it both bad law

and bad Freud. They do not feel that they are "breaking the law" in the usual sense when they oppose school integration. The belief remains clearly fixed in the minds of some 50 million Americans that the Supreme Court was wrong in 1954. In a second opinion a year later the Supreme Court said that the Federal Courts in the South should decide whether segregation was being carried out fast enough "because of their proximity to local conditions." One of the troubles over Little Rock was that Judge Davies had been temporarily assigned to the Little Rock district from North Dakota. But a more serious Southern objection was that the determination of policy was taken from the hands of local authorities. The Courts, that is to say appointed judges, in effect made the decision and the elected officials had to carry them out.

The ultimate sanction behind law in democratic countries is the consent of the governed. In the South such consent is lacking. The Federal Government's case may be law- and letter-perfect, but it has an impaired support of public opinion in

the area in which it must operate. The administrative arm of a Government, acting on its own, would have been able to adjust its policies to the situation, but the Federal Government too, was robbed of any power of flexibility because the policies which it was called upon to put into effect were determined by the Judicial branch.

There are three big high schools in Little Rock. One of them is all-Negro, one all-White, while the third, Central High, was picked by the School Board in 1955 for the start of integration. White students living in the all-Negro school district could elect to go to one of the other two schools, but White students living in the Central High School district could not elect to go to the remaining all-White school. Negroes in the Central High School district could either go to the all-Negro school or Central High. Nine out of 200 eligible elected to go to Central High. There were some complaints that the 2,000 or so White students in the Central High district were deprived of equal treatment. But obviously if all or nearly all had asked to attend the all-White high school its facilities would have been overcrowded, while the integration of the two races would not have been advanced.

This moderate start towards school integration did not satisfy the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People. They wanted complete integration in all the schools. But the gradual plan of the School Board was upheld in the Federal Courts, and the N.A.A.C.P. lost an appeal. Efforts of the Negro leaders to make the gradual integration plan more sweeping led to counter efforts by White parents to block it. Each American State has its own judicial system alongside that of Federal Government. A State Court granted the petition of a White parent for an injunction against integration at Central High. Judge Davies, belonging to the Federal judiciary, issued an injunction blocking the State Court's injunction. Governor Faubus of Arkansas, asserting that if the Negro students entered the High School there would be rioting, ordered out the

State National Guard to prevent their entry. There has been much discussion about the genuineness of Governor Faubus's fears. The School Board, however, itself became alarmed and petitioned Judge Davies to suspend his integration order temporarily. Judge Davies denied the School Board's request as "anæmic." He invited Justice Department lawyers to enter the case as "friends of the Court" and asked them to start an action at once against Governor Faubus. Judge Davies refused to disqualify himself from hearing this case when Governor Faubus complained that his past attitude showed he would be biased. Judge Davies ruled that the School Board's integration plan "has been thwarted by the Governor of Arkansas by the use of National Guard troops" and issued an injunction against their use. Thereupon the National Guard were withdrawn, but when the Negro students attended school rioting broke out which the local police could not control. It was at this point that the President sent in paratroopers and federalized the Arkansas National Guard.

Troops had been used before to quell disorders caused by integration—in Clinton, Tennessee, and Sturgis, Kentucky—but they were National Guardsmen called out at the orders of the Governor. No bitter memories of Civil War days were revived. The shock was all the greater because last July Eisenhower had said, "I can't imagine any set of circumstances that would ever induce me to send Federal troops . . . into any area to enforce the orders of a Federal Court." But the President had also added "because I believe that the common sense of America will never require it." The President explained that what he could never have believed possible early this summer had happened. He had to send in Federal troops since the order of a Federal Court had been flouted, and if the Courts were not upheld there would be a complete breakdown of government in the United States. It also caused surprise, because most people believed that authority to use Federal troops to enforce civil rights had been repealed during the civil rights

## THE IMPACT OF LITTLE ROCK

debate last session. Congress had, in fact, repealed one law dating from Reconstruction days, but had left intact others authorizing the President to use troops to uphold the laws of the United States. ■■

There is a lot of politics in the situation on both sides. Governor Faubus comes from the poorer section of Arkansas. He has a Left-wing background and attended a college regarded by the Republican Attorney-General as sufficiently suspect to be placed on the subversive list. To retain his political backing Faubus had to appeal to the Right-wing elements in the State who oppose integration. On the other side of the issue the President's chief adviser is Attorney-General Brownell, the leading political strategist in the Republican Party. His shrewd manipulation twice secured the nomination of Dewey at Republican Conventions and he outmanoeuvred the Taft forces in 1952 and secured the nomination of Eisenhower. The Republican Party faced two depressing facts. In the future they could no longer rely upon Eisenhower's prestige, and the course of local elections showed that the majority of the population supported the Democrats. Republicans had no reason to fear the consequences of pushing the school integration issue to the full. It would divide the Democrats, consolidate the Republican hold on the Northern Negro vote and give assurance of Republican political victory. It would also set back the growth of a two-party system in the South, but that was of no great immediate political significance.

Until the troops moved into Little Rock the moderate Southern leaders had been able to control their extremists. Senator Lyndon Johnson, of Texas, the Democratic Senate leader, had managed to hold the Democrats together during the Civil Rights debate last session, and secure the adoption of a moderate Civil Rights bill. Now, with emotions inflamed throughout the South, the moderates are being forced to the sidelines. Extremism on one side evokes extremism on the other. Republicans who co-operated with Lyndon Johnson last session are now being told "see what little good it did." Southern

members of Congress, embittered by events, are likely to take every opportunity next year to frustrate the President's legislative policies and programme. Such things as the foreign aid and reciprocal trade programmes are bound to suffer.

In his study of the Civil War, W. E. Woodward wrote: "There is hardly anything in modern history that was so absolutely foolish as this war between the States. Moreover, even after the war began there were numerous occasions when it might have been ended with great satisfaction to both sides. But these occasions were neglected or rejected with scorn from both opponents." Much the same thing might be said of the present controversy over civil rights and school segregation. Very little education or instruction can take place in an atmosphere of tension, even if there are no soldiers in the school corridors. But if education were the only casualty it could be called a necessary evil. The calamity is that the developing harmony between the two races is being set back. No doubt the South could have no more success in slowing down the solid pressure of the Federal Government than Canute could slow down the advance of the tide. But, to mix the metaphor a little, the tide is likely to gain a Pyrrhic victory, in which the Negro himself may be the chief sufferer.

The issue in Little Rock might have been pressed with greater caution and calm by both sides. In seven Southern States, where no start has been made towards integration, the Little Rock story has only further strengthened the determination not to yield. The Southern attitude is no doubt all very wrong and foolish, but situations have to be dealt with as they are, not as they ought to be. There is proving to be some truth in the old bromide that you cannot make people good by act of Parliament. The President himself declared at the height of the Little Rock crisis that the solution at bottom depended upon changes in the hearts and minds of men. Recent events suggest that it would have been better to proceed more slowly and relate enforcement to that change, since premature efforts to



## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

gain desirable ends have made the change in men's hearts and minds, without which they would be meaningless, all the more difficult. But here you come back once

again to the difficulty that the Judiciary is calling the tune, and the Executive branch must dance to it.

DENYS SMITH.

# CORRESPONDENCE

*To the Editor, The National and English Review*

### FERMENT IN CENTRAL AFRICA

*From Commander W. O. Rees Millington, R.N.  
(retd.)*

SIR,

I suppose Mr. James Johnson has as little qualification as the average M.P. to air his views on African native problems, but that does not make his article any the less dangerous, consisting as it does of an insidious attack on the white population by means of old clichés slightly disguised.

On his own admission this globe-trotting expert stayed in European hotels on his recent visit. What a much better picture he would have got had he stayed with a Chief in a tribal area. But, whichever course he took, how could he expect to get a clear view of local conditions through interpreters or the broken English of half-educated detribalized African intelligentsia? To understand the minds of the black people one has to live among them for years, to work and play with them, and to speak their language fluently.

If Mr. Johnson knew his subject he would know that black, white and brown locomotive drivers were tried out on their merits before the first German war, and there have been District Officers in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland since the turn of the century, many known personally to me between the wars.

Of course there are no African doctors yet and few schoolboys can hope to go home to educated parents. Surely no sane people in England can imagine that if their grandparents had been in a lower state of civilization than the painted savages found here by Julius Caesar they could reach their present state of education in two generations?

Before the turn of the century the first white men were settling in Southern Rhodesia and from these pioneers the present Federal Party stems. By 1939 their population had topped 60,000 and, but for the war, it is unlikely that

the granting of Dominion status would have been delayed more than two or three years. On the West coast of Africa, over a similar period, an entirely different development has taken place, resulting in the native state of Ghana being given full Dominion status. Is it any wonder that Southern Rhodesians are determined to have their wishes fulfilled at an early date, and that they resent the unhappy assumption that the descendants of those who were for the most part wild savages sixty years ago are more fitted for responsible government than the cream of our settlers in the Empire? They have no fear of the black man nor he of them, but they have an abiding fear of the type of government that could be provided for them by the gullible people of this country.

Yours, etc.,

W. O. REES MILLINGTON.

Millfield,

Ryde, I.O.W.

October 12, 1957.

### THE RUMPUS—AND AFTER

*From Mr. M. J. Abraham.*

SIR,

Lady Henley's fears for freedom of criticism in this country, if they are based solely on the circumstances of Lord Londonderry's "abject apology," are certainly exaggerated. Surely it is right to draw a clear distinction between the thoughtful, constructive and courteously expressed views of Lord Altrincham and the crude incivilities of an immature exhibitionist. The right of free speech is truly significant only when it is responsibly exercised.

Yours faithfully,

M. J. ABRAHAM.

55 Kingston House,

Prince's Gate, S.W.7.

October 6, 1957.

*N.B. The result of our essay competition will be announced next month, and the author of the winning political essay will be notified shortly. None of the literary essays was up to standard. Editor.*

## Books: General

# ROMAN APOLOGISTS

By CANON C. E. RAVEN

IT is a salutary and indeed an exciting adventure for a convinced Anglican to be challenged to read and comment upon two such brilliant and persuasive statements of Roman Catholic philosophy and history as the two books which I am here reviewing.\* When fifty years ago Gilbert Chesterton ridiculed globe-trotting as a remedy for boredom and said that, if he really wanted excitement, the would-be traveller should stay at home and discuss religion with his housemaid, he may have exaggerated. But no one can enter into the world of religious controversy with two such learned, generous and skilful champions as these two authors without being compelled to explore regions of experience and interpretation which will be at once novel and intensely revealing. For the present reviewer it has been a stirring and well-rewarded encounter. Each book has given an unfamiliar presentation of a vitally important theme.

Dr. Gilson has established by his lifelong study of St. Thomas a unique position as an exponent of the greatest of scholastics. His knowledge both of the whole field and of the intricate details of one of the world's greatest theologians, his genius for expounding ideas and a world-view which are wholly unlike those of to-day and yet possess a range and completeness very challenging to our present bewilderments, and his evident conviction of the grandeur and relevance of his subject, make this book an outstanding contribution. From his first chapter, where he expounds the very difficult relationship of essence to existence, of *esse* and quiddity, or from the treatment of revelability and revelation, when he seeks

to bridge the gulf between supernatural and natural, to the strange concept of *species* in St. Thomas's theory of knowledge and the linkage of subject and object, he shows a skill and precision that few even of expert mediaevalists have approached. If he does not acclimatize us to these metaphysical abstractions, at least he explains their meaning.

In a short review it is only possible to state criticism in its broadest terms. Briefly the main defect in Thomist thought for us of to-day is the complete absence, in the interpretation of creation as a whole, of any sense of movement or advance. Creation is presented as a descent from the beatitude of the Creator through the hierarchies of angelic and incorporeal beings to man and so to those lower ranks of "the vilest of all creatures" whose "wretched degree of being still expresses something of God." There is no glimpse here of what St. Paul describes as the frustration and travail of the creation in its agonizing towards the glory of the liberty of the children of God, nor of any sense of the operation of the Holy Spirit within that great adventure. In consequence, there is no real attempt to deal with either of the problems that we must face—the relation of evil and of pain to the nature and purpose of God.

The fact is that for St. Thomas, as Dr. Gilson admits, the philosopher and the theologian are never really reconciled. Always the latter appeals to three arguments which the philosopher must reject. The first is authority, the revelation given to apostles and prophets, divine and therefore unshakable—the articles of faith necessary to salvation; hence St. Thomas ignores the scientific work of St. Albert and stands firm for the very letter of Scripture. Next is the principle of perfection—which led to the insistence that

\* *Christian Philosophy of St. Thomas Aquinas.* By Dr. Etienne Gilson. Gollancz. 42s.

*The Popular History of the Reformation.* By Father Philip Hughes. Hollis & Carter. 21s.



the circle being the perfect figure no heavenly body can move in an ellipse. Finally, the insistence on God's infinity which can be used against any argument of human logic. "Demonstrations based on principles of reason differ specifically from faith."

This uncompromising insistence upon the contrast between grace and nature, and upon the infallibility of the utterances of Scripture and the doctrines of the Church, is the point at which the Roman Catholic position becomes to many of us impossible of acceptance. It is, for such folk, based upon a primary fallacy. We can agree that here and now the pure in heart can see God, that in moments of communion the saint can experience total conviction and live eternally. We cannot accept the notion that when this illumination of the whole self is scaled down to the level of human intelligence, and translated into the transitory images of human language, it retains its divine infinity and absolute authority. To formulate the divine is to reduce it to our finitude and relativity.

The unbridged gulf between faith (in the Roman Catholic sense of unquestioning acceptance) and reason has vitiated the whole integrity of human thinking and been responsible for the tragic divorce between religion and life. So powerful had it become that the Reformation dared not effectively challenge it. The seat of authority was changed; its inerrancy remained. And the effect was manifest far outside traditionally religious circles. So when Francis Bacon was framing the "New Philosophy," and insisting on the unity of all truth and the discipline of scientific enquiry, he expressly repudiated the claim to include religion. All other knowledge could be explored by methods of observation and experiment, the formulation and testing and comparison of hypotheses, but religion "being founded upon the infallible oracles of God" could not be brought into relation with other studies. So too when the Royal Society, that potent instrument for the development and integration of man's intellectual life, was founded, religion was definitely

set outside its purview. The world, and Christianity, are still suffering from the disastrous effects of that dichotomy—so irreconcilable with any true incarnational philosophy or any deep appreciation of the immanence of God.

We can see in recent history the persistence of the evil. When the present Pope secured the canonization of his predecessor, the persecutor of Modernists, the pontiff whom Baron von Hügel described as "having the mind of an illiterate peasant," when the same Pope followed up the legend of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin by giving plenary authority to the more fantastic legend of her Assumption, he must have strained the loyalty of 20th century science to the breaking-point, slammed the door of the Roman Church in the faces of the historically minded and of all who have any awareness of the world-view of modern physiology and cosmology. Truly faith and reason have on this showing nothing in common. It is hard to believe that St. Thomas would have acquiesced in so complete a rejection of his effort to bring philosophy and theology into partnership.

The second volume on our list, though a work of equal brilliance and of considerable scholarship, is much more obviously propaganda. It is based upon the three volumes of its author's *The Reformation in England*. It begins with a short sketch of Roman Catholic history and faith, and of Europe prior to the coming of the Catholic revival, Ximenes, Erasmus and the Italian Saints. Then we are shown the terrible story of Luther, of Zwingli and the Anabaptists, and then the effects of Henry's divorce, the unique turpitude of Wolsey, and the consequent royal supremacy. We pass on to the "one long disaster" of the reign of Edward VI, to a eulogy of Pius III, and a not unsympathetic account of Calvin, and so to a full record of the Council of Trent, and to brief summaries of Queen Mary, "a better character than was common in her family," of Queen Elizabeth "in an age when these abounded a most consummate and successful liar" and of Mary Queen of Scots "the sole hope of the old religion." It is all vividly

## ROMAN APOLOGISTS

and cleverly told; the art of selection can hardly ever have been more skilfully practised; and to anyone without some critical knowledge of the period the result may well be most attractive.

To preserve a sense of proportion in studying it two points must be kept plainly in mind. First Father Hughes, like all believers in the inerrancy of the Roman Church, is committed to the simple conviction that, although the depravity of individual churchmen, whether popes or friars, may be freely admitted, the Church is always and inevitably right. Anglicans old enough to remember the great Bishop Gore will know that for him, as for many other Catholic-minded Christians, this was a grave scandal; they could not accept the claim that in the periods when the Vatican was a sink of iniquity and Christendom a reproach to all decent folk the Church must yet be acclaimed and obeyed as sinless. Secondly, and in consequence, for Father Hughes heresy, the refusal to accept Catholic authority, is the first and worst of sins, to be punished more severely than murder, an outrage against human welfare and a seduction of the soul. So all heretics must necessarily be sinners, and the cataloguing of their sins is an essential part of their history. It is done sometimes crudely and vindictively more often by hint and seemingly casual phrase. But one and all are smeared, or ignored.

This is, of course, a highly serious matter. It is not only that Father Hughes ignores the spiritual greatness manifested by very many of the leading Reformers, Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, Henry Bullinger, for example, but he pays no heed to the enlargement of life, the amazing energy and the exaltation of character manifested among the members of the Protestant churches, who largely created the modern world and pioneered the study of nature and the development of science. The quality of a man like Conrad Gesner, of Zurich, the father of biological science, the son of a companion and disciple of Zwingli, and himself not only a great and heroic doctor, but an intelligent and devoted Christian,

or a century later of our own John Ray, the greatest of all field naturalists, and a man of spotless character and outstanding religion, is plain evidence of the uprush of liberating power when the age-old antithesis between nature and grace, the error of a two-storey universe, and the belief that apart from Catholic orthodoxy there could be no true knowledge and no genuine goodness, were done away. Then men's lives took on a new integrity, a new sense of freedom and responsibility, a zest in adventure and a delight in tracing "the wisdom of God in the works of Creation." They explored the boundaries of man's world, they drew together all his pursuits sacred and secular, they paved the way for a real reformation in the 17th century which made the events chronicled by Father Hughes look parochial and even irrelevant. Modern history and all its colossal changes begins not with Luther and Calvin, but with Gesner and Galileo, and in Britain with William Turner, Robert Boyle and Isaac Newton.

CHARLES E. RAVEN.

### THE DREAM PASSES

A SOLDIER WITH THE ARABS. By Sir John Glubb. *Hodder and Stoughton*. 25s.

ALL generalizations about the Middle East, except this one, are risky and fallible. But as no useful purpose can be served by confining ourselves to a series of particular factual statements leading up to no general conclusion; the risk must be taken, with suitable disclaimers and qualifications most of which can be passed over as read. If we look, in this spirit of audacity, at the Middle East as a whole—a difficult feat in an area which has no natural boundaries and no ethnic, religious or linguistic homogeneity—and if at the same time we look on the history of the area as a whole—a hardly less difficult feat, since it covers more than 6,000 years and interlocks inextricably with the history of Europe, Asia and Africa—then one approximately true general observation does seem to hold good. This is that Middle Eastern history consists of an alternation between two recurring situations. One of these is the establishment of a unitary imperial power upon the area as a whole—though the size and shape of the whole fluctuates in different



*War Office Official Photograph.*

SIR JOHN GLUBB TALKING TO THE LATE KING ABDULLAH OF JORDAN.

imperial periods, just as the desert advances and recedes, simply because the Middle East has no natural boundaries. The other situation is one of breakdown into a condition of war, chaos and anarchy—though it must be remembered that these terms, which sound so dreadful to a Western ear, describe a condition which to innumerable inhabitants of the Middle East has seemed perfectly normal and for innumerable others has scarcely affected their lives at all.

If this alternation represents a fair generalization of what has happened in the past there is no doubt at all which of the two situations prevails to-day, and there is no doubt at all where the responsibility lies for creating the present situation of chaos and anarchy. It lies in Western Europe (of which the U.S.A. may be regarded as an extension in this context for the sake of brevity). But this is not at all to say that the alternation must continue to recur (although many people believe that, it is the intention of the Soviet Union to impose a new imperial control over the Middle East; and some believe that it is Egypt's intention; and not a few Arabs even believe that it is Israel's intention). And it is also not at all to impute moral blame to the West for having broken up the relative tranquillity and stability which prevailed in the Middle East under the Ottoman Empire and replaced it by the unnatural distribution of so-called national States which precariously exist to-

day. The tragedy of the situation is that the Western Powers which wrought this change could not have done otherwise without ceasing to be what they were, with all the virtues and weaknesses inherent in their character.

Practically all the errors ascribed to Western policy in the Middle East derive, directly or indirectly, from the fact that the West invented the idea of the national State. This idea, supported by the tremendous emotional force of nationalism, does not indeed look like an unqualified success in Europe to-day, but it certainly suited Europe well for many centuries, culminating in the nineteenth. Just when it was beginning to lose its force, and even its relevance, in Europe, it began to take root in the Middle East. Whether the contact between East and West took place through education in Europe, through commerce, through literature, through military and political domination, or even through religious missions, everything seemed to point to the idea of the independent national unit as the vital force of Europe. Even the rival powers that fought each other for control over the Middle East all had this in common. Their rivalry brought enormous benefits to the Middle East: it brought medicine, education, industry, wealth, organization, justice, science and technology. But it also brought nationalism, and thus destroyed the Ottoman Empire, an ancient and once efficient institution to whose principal inhabitants the idea of a

## THE DREAM PASSES

nation was entirely alien. To the West, therefore, the Middle East owes all the productive ideas that have been active in it for the last century and a half ; and also, simultaneously and inseparably, it owes the one counter-productive idea.

A nation implies geographical boundaries. Geographical boundaries were unknown within the Ottoman Empire before the concept was introduced from the West ; even the outer perimeter of the Empire itself never remained the same for long, and no one expected it to do so. The subordinate peoples were administered through the system of *millet*s, which were primarily religious rather than ethnic in their basis and corresponded to no geographical distribution. But when the subject peoples saw how the mighty peoples of Europe were organized, and when they read the nationalist literature of England and France and Germany, and when their leading personalities (particularly their religious leaders, to whom the Ottoman system gave great power) reminded them of their glorious past, they too wanted to be nations ; and the West, disgusted with the ramshackle heathen empire of the Sultan, inevitably helped them to become nations. To have done otherwise would have been a betrayal of Western principles. So the Ottoman Empire was dismantled ; its horizontal communal articulation was replaced by a vertical geographical articulation ; the Balkan, North African and Levantine peoples (including, of course, the Jews and even the Turks themselves, though still not so far including some other equally self-conscious minorities, such as the Armenians and the Kurds) became independent nations ; and although they often blamed the West bitterly for delaying the process, the fact is that but for the West the process would never have happened at all.

For the Arabs in particular this was a most unnatural rearrangement, enthusiastically though they had fought for it. Of all the new geographical units thus created, the Hashemite kingdom of Jordan is the most unnatural of all. Its boundaries are grotesque (even more so since the Palestine War of 1948-9), its population is heterogeneous (and again more so since that war) ; it is completely surrounded by potential enemies (though fortunately they are never all against it at the same time), and it is economically unviable. Until a few years ago, nevertheless—at least until it transformed itself from Transjordan into Jordan—it appeared to be

brilliantly successful, happy and stable, in contrast with its neighbours ; and this was due to the work of three great men—King Abdullah, Sir Alec Kirkbride, and Glubb Pasha. It should perhaps have been obvious even at the time that their achievement was a *tour de force* that could not last, for they had the *genius* of the Middle East against them. All three have now left the Jordanian scene, two at least of them the victims of the misdirected nationalism of those who have no true nation to direct it upon. It remains to be seen whether the State which they, in name, created can survive the centrifugal forces which they held in balance, and thus in check, through one breath-taking generation.

The analysis of these forces, and the story of the effects they produced in Jordan, constitute the subject of Sir John Glubb's book. It is an intensely personal, and therefore a very moving story, but it is no mere emotional self-vindication. Sir John is a thoughtful and articulate soldier, more after the French than the English pattern ; this is perhaps why he preferred to serve for thirty-six years in the Middle East rather than in the British Regular Army. He also succeeds simultaneously in thinking as a Jordanian and as an Englishman, both of which he has every right to consider himself ; so his story is not how a loyal Englishman was betrayed by Arab intriguers, but how he and his adopted people were the victims of forces, both Western and Middle Eastern, beyond their control. Some of the arguments that have been developed above as background to this review of his book are set out in his introduction with a simplicity and succinctness which amply show that his purpose is not to judge or to blame, but to explain. For instance :

Western Europeans are familiar with the conception of one country inhabited by one race, as are England and France. But such has never hitherto been the state of affairs in the Middle East, where a given area of territory has almost always been shared by a number of different races, communities and religions. Each of these groups is normally distinct, possessing its own rights, laws, schools, judges and headmen. This state of affairs has historically been the normal rather than the exceptional, but it is a conception entirely foreign to modern European nations.

It is characteristic of Sir John that he here explains not, as I have done above, that what is normal in Europe is abnormal in the Middle East, but that what is normal in the Middle East is abnormal in Europe. His book is, in

## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

fact, a book about the Middle East from within ; and quite apart from its unique value as an account of the Palestine War and the subsequent Middle East crises from a Jordanian point of view, written with deep insight and affection, it is also the most valuable contribution to the study of Arab nationalism since George Antonius's *The Arab Awakening*. Glubb Pasha has greatly crowned a great life's work.

C. M. WOODHOUSE.

### DEGREES AND DOMESTICITY

WIVES WHO WENT TO COLLEGE. By Judith Hubback. *Heinemann*. 12s. 6d.

ARE wives who went to college conscious of frustration? Have (a) their parents, (b) grant-giving authorities, reason to think that money has been wasted on their higher education? Do they make better wives because they have been schooled in systematic thought, or worse wives because their attention has been distracted from the cultivation of domestic skills? Do they tend, more than their non-graduate sisters, to shuffle out of home responsibilities by restricting their families? Can they combine motherhood with professional work outside their homes and, if so, how? All these questions are constantly asked and as often answered, though seldom in an atmosphere untinged by emotion or prejudice.

Mrs. Hubback is eminently well qualified to attempt an objective answer. She went to college, she has three young children and a contented husband, she is in touch with contemporaries in the same position as herself, and she has found time to undertake a piece of systematic social research. Her findings are based on the response to a massive questionnaire, of 1,165 married women graduates from eleven universities, with that of a somewhat less numerous control-group of non-graduate women with similar social background. She has wisely ruled out those who, having graduated before 1930, experienced the responsibilities of home-making during that fleeting inter-war golden age of the middle-class woman when, emancipation having been achieved, domestic service was still available for those wishing to enjoy its fruits.

Some of Mrs. Hubback's results provide, within the limits of her sample, straight answers. The marriage rate among women graduates used to be considerably lower than the general rate ; it is now scarcely less. During the first five years of marriage the graduates have fewer children than women in

the population at large ; after that they have more. It may be deduced that they are using birth control to plan rather than to restrict their families. 28 per cent. of the graduates, as compared with 23 per cent. of the non-graduates, have no domestic help at all ; 15 per cent. of the graduates and 11 per cent. of the non-graduates have resident help. But it is unfair to Mrs. Hubback to isolate such figures from her text ; nor is it possible in a short space to summarize her less factual but no less illuminating discussions of the frustrations of domestic life for the highly educated woman, and the opportunities which exist, and could more effectively be made to exist, for part-time work during the period of maximum family dependence. Here is a matter which affects not merely the individual woman, but the whole community, which cannot afford to let human talent run to waste.

Mrs. Hubback's book should be widely read ; and it is scarcely necessary to add that it should appear on the shelves of every school and college library and on the desk of every appointments officer.

One word more in addition to what Mrs. Hubback has said : a woman with the human experience of marriage and motherhood superimposed on the trained intelligence of the graduate, is the ideal recruit for the voluntary service of local government.

M. STOCKS.

### THE GOLD STANDARD

THE GOLDEN SOVEREIGN. By Richard Church. *Heinemann*. 18s.

TEA WITH WALTER DE LA MARE. By Sir Russell Brain, Bt. *Faber*. 12s. 6d.

SEARCH ME. By Patrick Anderson. *Chatto and Windus*. 15s.

MY BETTERS. By George W. Bishop. *Heinemann*. 25s.

INDEX TO THE STORY OF MY DAYS. By Edward Gordon Craig. *Hulton Press*. 35s.

GILBERT : HIS LIFE AND STRIFE. By Hesketh Pearson. *Methuen*. 25s.

LETTERS TO LADY CUNARD. By George Moore. Edited by Rupert Hart-Davis. *Hart-Davis*. 27s. 6d.

JOWETT. By Geoffrey Faber. *Faber*. 30s.

THE ENTERTAINER. By John Osborne. *Faber*. 10s. 6d.

COLLECTED POEMS, Volume II. By Roy Campbell. *Bodley Head*. 21s.

MR. CHURCH'S first slice of autobiography, *Over the Bridge*, was acclaimed on all sides as one of the best



## The Gold Standard

descriptions of childhood to have appeared for many years. It was hardly to be expected that he would maintain this lofty standard in "telling the story of an awakening from the fantasy of childhood to the still vaster actualities of life in the world of men and women." This is, however, exactly what he has done. If possible *The Golden Sovereign* is better than its predecessor. In one sense the author was fortunate, although he would certainly not admit this. His adolescence was full of incident and it has a kind of unity. In fact, it could have been written, with slight alterations, as a novel.

After the death of his mother, Mr. Church, with his austere elder brother, found himself in a dilemma. His ebullient father, who seems to have had much in common with H. G. Wells' Mr. Hoopdriver, saw very much less of his sons. He was for ever pedalling away on his roadster, and from these excursions he returned with a second wife. The two boys set up by themselves in lodgings kept by Dickensian owners.

Working as a junior clerk the author was transferred to the Civil Service Laboratory, which contained elder colleagues who, unexpectedly, showed a helpful interest in his poetry. One of them even helped him to publish his first book of verse. The book ends with the author's marriage to his father's stepdaughter.

Mr. Church has an extraordinary memory, and great charity. It is only when he writes about his father that a slightly acid touch appears here and there. But as a whole this book of life in London in the first two decades of the century is so picturesque, so fair, and so revealing that it may be read not only for its exposition of the growth of a poet's mind, but also for the well-observed and often humorous anecdotes which make it a delight to read and induce anticipation of the next instalment of this admirable autobiography.

Some memories of another, and a most elusive, poet will be found in *Tea with Walter de la Mare* by Sir Russell Brain. Anyone who knew de la Mare well found his conversation enchanting. At one time I was privileged to hear a good deal of it, and the thing that struck me most was the poet's extraordinary humility coupled with his thirst for knowledge. He seemed indifferent to circumstances, and I can see him now sitting on an East wind-swept shore at Aldeburgh speculating on an extraordinary variety of subjects and asking me how turbines worked. I hadn't the slightest idea.

## NELSON

**Philip Massinger:**  
*the man and the playwright*

THOMAS A. DUNN

Massinger was one of the most prolific of the Jacobean dramatists. Dr Dunn, who is Lecturer in English at the University College of Ghana, Achimota, has made a study of both the man and his work, providing evidence for a partial reassessment at both levels. *Half-tone frontispiece*  
xii + 288 pp

30s

### The Masque of Capri

EDWIN CERIO

A delightful study of the notorious island in the Bay of Naples. Mingling myth and history, fantasy and fact, Dr Edwin Cerio, the greatest living authority on Capri, surveys the island from ancient times to the middle of the present century. 33 full-page photographs and 6 line drawings by Letizia Cerio  
xii + 132 pp

18s

### When Wendy Grew up: an afterthought

J. M. BARRIE

presented by SYDNEY BLOW Here for the first time appears Sir James Barrie's 'Afterthought' to *Peter Pan*, performed once and once only at the close of the performance on 22nd February 1908. When the curtain fell Barrie gave his manuscript to Hilda Trevelyan, his 'incomparable Wendy', the wife of Mr Sydney Blow. 5 line drawings by Michael Leonard  
iv + 28 pp

7s 6d

### Nelson's Icelandic Texts

### The Saga of Gunnlaug Serpent-Tongue

edited by P. G. FOOTE and R. QUIRK

The first of a new series whose aim is to present Icelandic literature to English-speaking readers. The diversity and artistic excellence of the medieval books of Iceland commend them to all students of literature, as well as historians, folklorists and sociologists. *One map*  
xxi + 89 pp

18s

36 Park Street London W1

Sir Russell first met de la Mare in 1951, and from then until the poet died he was a frequent visitor to his flat at Twickenham. His book is admirable, and it cannot have been easy to compile because de la Mare talked largely in questions. On seeing a portrait of Lucrezia Borgia, he asked Sir Russell's daughter a series of difficult questions. How was her hair curled? Why did she wear a turban bound with oak leaves? What were her jewels? Why should diamonds be thought the most beautiful jewels? A sampler of St. Paul's Cathedral started a spate of musical enquiries. On another occasion he remarked that spelling was so significant. "Take phlegm: how expressive! Spell it 'flem' and its viscosity would be gone." The word "carnelian" was mentioned. He said that he liked it. "Isn't the *e* sound in the middle like light coming through a stained glass window?" He recalled that when he met Sir Henry Head, Head asked him, "When you imagine a sound, where do you hear it, outside or inside you?"

It is impossible to give an adequate representation of the range of de la Mare's conversation, but his admirers will be delighted that Sir Russell has preserved so much of interest and of charm.

Last year Mr. Anderson published an unconventional book of Malayan reminiscences, *Snake Wine*, and it was remarkable for the author's excellent style. The continuation, *Search Me*, finds Mr. Anderson back in England living in Soho lodgings with an emu's egg and a baroque bust, while a poor lady goes mad in a house opposite. From London he moves on first to an Education Centre at Great Rampage, then to the Black Country where he does teacher-training work, and afterwards to Spain. He also gives an account of earlier years when he was married and engaged in left-wing activities in Canada during the war.

Mr. Anderson need not necessarily be classed among the Angry Young Men, although he is apparently still working his way towards something—it is not quite clear what—and he writes about himself, his loves, friendships, and preoccupations with complete frankness, and always in impeccable English. As far as an author can be honest in writing about himself, he gives the impression of absolute frankness. Whether this is a literary artifice or not one does not know, but the result is always entertaining.

For more than forty years Mr. George Bishop has been writing about the theatre,

and his reminiscences are less about himself than about *My Betters*, which is the over-modest title of his book. No theatrical writer has a higher reputation for integrity than he has; his tastes are catholic and his experiences almost fantastically varied. He records a visit to Sibelius in Finland. He went shopping in the Strand with all four Marx Brothers. He had tea with King George V and Queen Mary. He conversed at length with G.B.S., and is himself a character named Deacon in George Moore's *Conversations in Ebury Street*. Three of the best chapters deal with Bernard Shaw, and it is a pleasure to read an excellent tribute to Marie Tempest. *My Betters* can be recommended to anyone interested in the English theatre.

Mr. Edward Gordon Craig has been working on his memoirs for some years and *Index to the Story of my Days* is the first book of jottings and judgments, which do not in any way add up to a formal autobiography. Mr. Craig is honest enough to say that his life has not interested him very much in itself. "I thought of myself most of the time," he writes, "as I believe is customary, but I did not think much of myself." This is a modest assessment and it does not do justice to his power to give impressions of very famous people which no one else could have written.

He is especially interesting about his mother, Ellen Terry, and he comes nearer to anyone else that I have read in showing why Irving was a great actor. He believes that character was at the root of his success. "H.I. in his acting was original—but he rarely thought originally. The things he did on the stage were not as a rule invented by himself—but *his way* of doing everything was his own. Take the elaborate stage directions in *The Bells*. All that he did was written down for him by the authors. The authors *had* something; Irving *was* the thing itself. He felt—he did not think; he existed as Mathias—gave it his life."

Mr. Craig achieved an international reputation as a stage designer, and it is strange to think how few of his productions have been seen by the general public. Probably he has done more for the theatre in influencing his successors by showing what magnificent effects can be obtained by lighting and by the use of simple materials. His judgments on contemporary acting are pithy, as when he comments on Sir Laurence Olivier's association with the Old Vic, "Olivier was the cheese—Old Vic, mostly chalk." I do not happen to agree with his sweeping opinion, but it gives



## The Gold Standard

some idea of the liveliness pervading the book.

Mr. Pearson's account of Gilbert and Sullivan is one of the most entertaining of his biographies. The executor of Gilbert's legatee's estate has recently placed all his correspondence, diaries and documents at Mr. Pearson's disposal, and in *Gilbert: His Life and Strife* he has written a more detailed life of the famous librettist, who believed as firmly that his ultimate reputation would rest on his stage comedies as Sullivan placed his faith in his serious compositions.

William Gilbert was a prickly person. He had no idea how irritable and over punctilious he could be. His casual comments were devastating. "Do you ever receive for *Punch* good jokes and things from outsiders," asked a guest at a dinner party. "Oh, often," said the editor of *Punch*. "They never appear," was Gilbert's dry comment from the other side of the table. It did not occur to him that Burnand might have been irritated by this squib, and it is not surprising that he made innumerable enemies by similar remarks.

Julia Neilson, whose reply to a congratulatory letter from Gilbert went astray, was astounded to receive the following:

Madam, As you have not thought it incumbent upon you to acknowledge, in any way, the very courteous letter I wrote to you a fortnight since, congratulating you on your performance in *The Popinjay*, I am forced to conclude that, for some reason quite unknown to me, you are disposed to regard me as a stranger.

In these circumstances it occurs to me that you may be unwilling to remain under a weight of unnecessary obligation to me and that, with a view of removing some of that weight, it may be agreeable to you to return the sum of one thousand pounds which I handed over to you twenty-two years since. It is true that, at the time, I made no condition of repayment, as it was intended to relieve you and your mother from a stress of pecuniary obligation, but as you stated that you should always regard it as a loan to be repaid if ever you were in a position to do so, I have no hesitation in bringing the matter under your notice. Yours faithfully.

With such a character for his subject, Mr. Pearson would find it impossible to write a dull book, and this one is unfailingly fair and good.

When Mr. Charles Morgan set about writing the biography of George Moore, Moore said that the most valuable existing source, outside his own memory and his autobiographical writings, was a certain series of letters addressed by him to a single correspondent. This proved to be Lady Cunard, but

## JOHN MURRAY

novels are the  
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## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

when Mr. Morgan asked to see the letters Lady Cunard refused to show them to him. Eventually a biography was written by Joseph Hone, but this biographer was unable to use the letters Moore had written to her.

In time Lady Cunard destroyed much of the correspondence, but left a large part of it to Sacheverell Sitwell who has given Mr. Hart-Davis permission to include them in *Letters to Lady Cunard 1895-1933*, which Mr. Hart-Davis has edited with an introduction and notes. It was work well worth doing, though I do not feel that Moore was a particularly good letter writer.

A highly self-conscious artist, Moore was at his best in his fictional autobiographies, in such books as *Memoirs of My Dead Life* and in the famous trilogy (*Ave atque Vale*). The letters printed here contribute very little to our knowledge of the writer, but they are interesting for what they reveal about his opinions on music, literature and art.

Since Abbott and Campbell's two volume biography which appeared in 1897, nothing important has been written about Jowett. Sir Geoffrey Faber's new biography, which he calls *A Portrait with Background*, is a fascinating, very well written account which presents the complex personality of one of the greatest Oxford figures of the 19th century. Jowett's friendship with Florence Nightingale is famous. It covered more than thirty years, and their letters are being edited for publication by the librarian of Balliol. Sir Geoffrey has extracted the man from the legend. His early struggles, his disappointments, his emergence into full maturity, and his happiness in his pupils and in his work for Balliol and for Oxford crowned an unusual and valuable life.

The book is full of good stories and glimpses of celebrities, and Sir Geoffrey makes one point which is particularly happy. Jowett conceived scholarship as a tool, not as an end in itself, and he cites Swinburne in support of this belief. In his old age Jowett mellowed into a serene and attractive man, who had outlived the alternating moods of self-criticism and despondency which had troubled him for the greater part of his life.

Sir Laurence Olivier's performance as Archie Rice in *The Entertainer* has been acclaimed as one of the most brilliant pieces of acting in our time, but on reading the play afterwards I was struck by the young dramatist's remarkable sense of the theatre. *The Entertainer* is not only a good acting play, it also reads very well indeed, and there seems to be no doubt at all that Mr. Osborne has

been launched on a considerable career in the theatre.

Roy Campbell's tragic death early this year stilled a great but erratic poetic talent. He had only just finished revising his *Collected Poems*, Volume II, when he died. It contains many lyrics and war poems, and also a revised version of his long "Flowering Rifle." Campbell could be both intolerant and unfair, but he was always honest. He was at his best when he was not belabouring some of his pet theories to death. Many of the shorter poems reveal him as a descriptive poet of the first order. His varied life provided him with experience which he used with easy mastery and no one, of whatever political opinions, is likely to deny that he was a poet of high achievement.

ERIC GILLET.

## Novels

THE WAPSHOT CHRONICLE. John Cheever. Gollancz. 15s.

NOT BY BREAD ALONE. Vladimir Dudintsev. Hutchinson. 18s.

MRS. O'. Claude. Faber. 13s. 6d.

HOME BEFORE DARK. Eileen Bassing. Longmans. 16s.

THE BIG WAR. Anton Myrer. Hamish Hamilton. 18s.

TIN ARMADA. Satherley Whitehand. Cassell. 15s.

THE BLACK CLOUD. Fred Hoyle. Heinemann. 15s.

ROCKETS GALORE. Compton Mackenzie. Chatto and Windus. 15s.

SKIN TRAP. William Mole. Eyre and Spottiswoode. 12s. 6d.

BELLE ISLE. Michael Gaunt. Hodder and Stoughton. 15s.

THE first two of these books could only have come from the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. Indeed *The Wapshot Chronicle* is essentially New English, the Wapshots being an old Massachusetts family endowed with characters and beset by happenings which other people are liable to mislabel "quaint." This is the record of Leander (whose story ends here); of his sons Moses and Coverly, who graduate from adolescence to various strange marital experiences; of Leander's determined wife Sarah and his splendidly eccentric cousin Honora; and of a wealth of

## Novels

others, kith and kin and strangers. John Cheever's narrative is told with variety of style and pace, and moves easily, and always with gusto, to and fro in time. It is as rich in incident as character—comic, tragic, romantic, often bawdy, never reticent, and informed by a Butlerian irony. Part of its fascination is that its New Englanders and their resolute matter-of-factness often are shown against such backgrounds as New York or a gridiron, rocket-launching mushroom-town. The Wapshots run their course as inevitably as, say, for all its shifts of speed and depth and direction, the Columbia River.

I have no doubt that Vladimir Dudintsev accurately depicts the Russian scene and character, though he is sadly far from doing so as well as the great Russians of pre-Revolution days. It is not at first easy to discover any intrinsic reason why *Not by Bread Alone* should have been labelled "sensational." Is it surprising that a single-minded inventor (of a new method of casting pipes) comes off second best when he gets up against bureaucrats? Or that not all Russian officials are dishonest time-servers? Or that there are still divorce, love and marriage—yes, and poverty—in Russia? It is, no doubt, sensational within Russia that these things have been written about, that here is a novel claiming that romance brings up more than a Five-year Plan, and—most of all—that at the end, with love triumphant and the inventor more than exonerated, the bureaucrats are still there in their offices. To a Western reader its interest is rather its exposure of a way of life of which we have little knowledge. It is not well written, it needs pruning; its characters, in the Russian way, are known by too many names for our comfort; but, its special interest apart, it is a readable novel with plenty of incident and with characters as clear cut as, perhaps, is to be expected.

Now for a soufflé made by a French chef out of Irish ingredients. Claude, the author of *Mrs. O'*, is declared to be French (which makes her mastery of English noteworthy), and she did indeed buy a pub in Cork. The sketches which compose her novel (it has just enough form of composition to be so called) are fictitious compounds of real incidents and persons met in or through her establishment. She scarcely offers a complete study of the Irish character, but within limits she is an acute, frank and friendly observer of Irish ways—now tragic, now comic, with life and death always rubbing elbows; with poetry displacing potation in the twinkling of a Celtic eye. I am not sure whether I should

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D E N T

## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

have enjoyed this slight volume so much had I not myself enough experience of Eire, buying Guinness at the baker's and eggs at the petrol station, to be convinced that Claude is a truthful witness.

The realism of *Home Before Dark* is, I suppose, universal. It is also, to my way of thinking, unpleasant. The theme is a wife's homecoming from a lunatic asylum—it seems to me a premature return, or am I really to take it that Charlotte is no more than temperamental, struggling for "freedom" from the restrictions put upon her—well, by a society which misjudges her as I do? It may be that her husband Arnold's patience ought not to wear out, that he and Charlotte's step-sister ought not to fall in love; but if Charlotte is sane, her treatment, including betrayal, of Arnold is quite as unpardonable as anything he or her sister does. The "blur" assures me that the book states a psychological problem which is unique in fiction though not unusual in life. I scarcely know why Eileen Bassing chose to break that reasonable record of reticence, even though her theme gives her a chance, which she takes to the full, to use her keen eye for detail and to make her characters bring themselves to life.

War books of all sorts have to be got off authors' chests; the process is taking a long time since World War II. *The Big War* is one of the purposeful kind; it wants to assure us that the decencies can survive filth and cruelty. Anton Myrer needs 450 pages for the job and does it by telling us with an excessive wealth of rather overwritten detail what happens to a group of U.S. Marines from the end of their training to the end of most of their lives on a Pacific island. He is very much in earnest, and determined that we must scarcely miss a minute—or a thought—of the three or four diverse characters on whom he focuses attention.

It is equally true of *Tin Armada* that it is a war book to read rather than to treasure—though I expect that it will be treasured by men whose general experiences it mirrors. The Satherley Whitehand novel (the authorship is composite) is less ambitious and portentous than the American. It is the "documentary" record of a young A.B. who is drafted to Combined Operations and whose training culminates in the Dieppe raid. He is almost the sole survivor of the little group of men on whom the book is focused, and who, like him, are portrayed briskly, if with no great depth. A mild love-story relieves what might otherwise have been a monotony of

training for the reader as well as the sailor.

One of the satisfactions which H. G. Wells gives is that he makes you feel that scientific technicalities are within your grasp. Not so Fred Hoyle, who makes his astronomers scribble on blackboards equations and what have you which mean less to me, and perhaps you too, than I dare say Arabic does to him. His main theme he makes plausible—the coming of a vast black cloud in space between the sun and the earth. The physical consequences are easy enough to grasp; less so is the revelation that the cloud is intelligence. The most disturbing feature of *The Black Cloud* however is its presentation of the attitude of the group of scientists who establish a kind of world-dictatorship. They seem to have no understanding of how government operates and no feeling whatever about human suffering so long as they can protect themselves against it. Since the book also postulates that for all their mathematics the scientists' prognostications are wrong, I face with more hopeful resignation than usual the likelihood that for the rest of my life politicians, not scientists, will guide our destinies.

Sir Compton Mackenzie also takes a running kick at politicians, but largely because they pay too much heed to scientists. In *Rockets Galore* he takes us back to those islands where on the occasion of an earlier frolic whisky was all. Now they are to become a missile-range. The author is so fair-minded as to have his islanders well disposed to the idea, as a likely money-spinner, till it develops that they are all to be evacuated to the mainland. Now he opens the vials of his wrath. But alas! he is so indignant at the thought of it all that his sharp, risible satire becomes a blunt instrument. Then, however, just as the reader grows aware that it is too many pages since he laughed, he is confronted by a conclusion ridiculous and ironical enough to restore his good humour without letting him forget the book's moral.

Though not very realistic *Skin Trap* is an original detective story. A murder is so very well contrived and executed, with so unusual a motive, that the murderer seems safe. But then the amateur sleuth (professional wine merchant) discerns the truth by something very little removed from intuition. This means that we know the murderer's identity early on, but William Mole none the less contrives to keep us on tenterhooks almost to the last page.

Finally *Belle Isle* tells how in 1760, with England at war with France, an English marine officer is cast up on an island off the

## Novels

coast of Brittany, is able (since he is bilingual) to pass for a Frenchman from the West Indies and thereafter is involved in local intrigues superimposed upon the risks of his own subterfuge. Michael Gaunt manages his historical background and local colour well, but I did not find his story as exciting or his many characters as interesting as I could have wished.

MILWARD KENNEDY.

## Art

### IS THERE A NATIONAL TYPE?

By MICHAEL JAFFÉ

THE ENGLISH FACE. By David Piper. *Thames and Hudson*. 35s.

IF the reputedly logical French, for example, were to support a National Portrait Gallery, they might be expected to discover to the world and to themselves a national face. Or would they? *Etienne Chevalier* by Fouquet, *Cardinal Richelieu* by Philippe de Champaigne, *M. de Norvins* by Ingres, *Delacroix* by Delacroix, *Manet* by Degas; all these are unmistakably likenesses of Frenchmen *pur sang*, portrayed apparently without extravagant distortion of their features. But from study of them, and of many score of other French portraits, emerges no theory of a national face which is tenable even by a foreigner. And that is so even though during five centuries of European portraiture the French have conserved a remarkably high degree of ethnological integrity. This the English conspicuously have not. As Mr. David Piper observes, even the character of John Bull invented by Arbuthnot did not settle as an image until early in the 19th century. And then he did not long remain stable in Hawthorne's description of him, "bulbous, long-bodied, short-legged, heavy-witted, material, and, in a word, too intensely English." Subsequently he has been more readily recognizable by his fancy farmer's costume than by his face. Indeed in the final chapter of *The English Face*, entitled "Not Beauty but Character," Mr. Piper owns that "the attempt to sum up the English is vain."

The author of this long essay has done in fact what he is well qualified to do, as a man who can write successfully both for the *Burlington Magazine* and for the *Listener*, and whose professional appointment is at the National Portrait Gallery. He has provided the English public, confirmed gazers at portraits of their countrymen, with an agreeable and not too expensive companion to their

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pleasures. It is only a pity that more and better defined reproductions could not have been made to illustrate his prose; and that the pages of illustrations are maddeningly scattered, instead of being grouped at the end or else placed opposite the relevant text. The book, which is full of illuminating comment, really deserves better internal production. And for purposeless vulgarity of cover design, the detail there from the face in Sir Thomas Lawrence's *Duke of Wellington* has only been outdone by the magazine which used half of the late Mr. Ernest Bevin's sweaty phiz for a similar purpose.

The scope of the enquiry extends in period effectively from the "tough memorial(s)" on the tomb slabs of Gothic England to the "slash and slosh" of de Laszlo for the Edwardians. One could wish that the author of so much pungent observation had carried the commentary forward to our own day. But in his three hundred pages the living artists get only half a paragraph.

Yet the grand manner persists and did not die with Sargent; in the late 'nineties a painter, with considerable panache combined with a far more sardonic eye for the bizarre, was emerging: Augustus John. The British have greater difficulty than the French in throwing portraiture overboard; Pasmore may abandon representational art for the abstract, but Sutherland returns, in excursions, from the world of thorns to portraiture, braving the anger of those who will have their bishops and prime ministers jolly.

With such arch compression of the situation it is hard to be content. Portraiture during the past half-century has been more interesting than that. Photography killed the portrait in miniature. But drawings of heads or small-scale full-lengths, sometimes of brilliant quality, are being produced to-day by artists such as Michael Ayrton and Merlyn Evans. These works designed to be complete in themselves stand in the line which runs from Nanteuil, Greenhill, Loggan and Faithorne, through Downman, Edridge and Heaphy almost uninterruptedly to our own contemporaries. Of all these excellent small masters of the past Mr. Piper finds space to say something, but without making clear how this tradition continues, nor what may affect it in the future. And, if his account is intended to treat only of such recent portraiture as is on about the scale of life, it seems more than a little wayward on his part to find not half a phrase for Wyndham Lewis in painting nor for Epstein in sculpture.

The omission of these two artists who are,

with Augustus John and Graham Sutherland, the most distinguished so far amongst English portraitists of the 20th century, real makers of the English face, forestalls criticism of other gaps in the anthology. We must accept that Hogarth can for once be discussed without *Captain Coram*; that Kneller is worth pages without his principal masterpiece, the *Matthew Prior*; that Roger Fry rates two mentions as a critic, one in praise of Mrs. Cameron's photograph of Carlyle, and one in condemnation of Sargent, but none as the painter of his friend *W. H. Macaulay*; and that such a flash of genius as Henry Lamb's *Lytton Strachey* does not get a look in. One can only protest at Mr. Piper's failure to trace the vagaries in the portrayal of particular kinds of English face: the captains; the men who might play Hamlet; the whores; the squires; the slyboots; and the great ladies at their domestic occasions.

Nevertheless, with most of his judgements I stand in complete agreement. He rates amongst the great achievements Cooper's marvellous miniature of *Cromwell*, from which Lely worked; *Lord Heathfield* grasping the key of Gibraltar, truly dramatic where Lawrence's heroes in the Waterloo Chamber are only theatrical, a portrait where Reynolds really painted hours, not moments; and the sublime simplicity of Hogarth's *Servants*. He rarely attempts generalities, yet he can produce such a decent success as "Portraiture indeed cannot but fit awkwardly into any intellectual theory of painting as a liberal manifestation of the imagination; it is tied too closely to imitation." His real strength lies in the nicety of his particular descriptions. Contrasting in his writing, as well as in the just confrontation of reproductions, two portraits of Wellington, he is enviably limpid: "Lawrence paints the lion of Waterloo in his social context as an English aristocrat, fresh from a bath after exercise on the playing fields, perhaps, of Eton; Goya, who knew nothing of the playing fields of Eton, saw a conqueror, a bleak, high-blooded man with the strained and fanatic stare of war." The book is worth buying and keeping for a score of such felicities.

MICHAEL JAFFÉ.

## Music

By ROBIN DENNISTON

Wagner—Then and Now

WHAT opera-goer, however enthusiastic, could say of *Die Walküre*, as Bernard Shaw did, that the music was as familiar to him

as *God Save the Queen*, "and the work as capable of boring me as any old-fashioned opera when it is not finely executed"? The gender of the monarch is a clue to the question, for Shaw was writing in 1894, when the opera was only thirty-eight years old. How in those days it was possible to familiarize oneself with music without the aid of the gramophone and wireless is a question Shaw does not answer; certainly the effects of Hitler have put us out of sympathy as well as touch with Wagner, and only gradually is it becoming possible for us once again to learn his music.

Writing over sixty years ago, when Wagner-worship was in full flood, Shaw may be forgiven his *après lui le déluge* viewpoint (though it true he wrote to convince the reluctant that Wagner was not an isolated phenomenon in art. "We have produced our Aeschylus; our Sophocles has yet to come"). What has happened is that the Wagnerian influence has receded; there has been no second coming, for Wagner stood not at the beginning of a new artistic conception—that of music drama—but at the end of the high glory of German romanticism, which was later to be displaced



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as a creative inspiration by the revolutionary theories and formulæ of Schönberg, himself in early life an enthusiastic follower of Wagner.

Not that opera has been forgotten. One of the three greatest 20th century composers—Britten—finds in opera his most congenial art-form. But it has taken a very different turn from the one Shaw predicted. Following Aeschylus we find not Sophocles or Aristophanes, but Terence. It is always dangerous to prophesy. Indeed, it is often the unimportant footnote or the Second Murderer who passes into the stream of history, and not the stars. What Shaw called the greatest musical event of 1892 was the performance in London of *The Ring*, and the conductor who, it is recorded, took several curtain-calls, was none other than Gustav Mahler, then better known as a faithful servant of other people's opera scores than as the last but one great symphonic composer.

All in all, Shaw treated that performance of *The Ring* in a considerably less respectful manner than critics in the last few weeks have discussed the recent Covent Garden production under Rudolf Kempe. What came in for Shaw's most crushing sarcasm was the décor and staging, in particular the transfers from the bottom of the Rhine to the mountain-top of the Gods, thence to the subterranean Nibelungs between the scenes of *Das Rheingold*. We have learned much about staging in the last sixty years, not simply spectacular techniques, but the power of arousing the imagination of the audience to interpret impressionistic stage devices. In the present production the handling of these interludes left little to be desired; indeed, they often provided welcome relief from the complicated if not nonsensical goings-on on the stage. Shaw himself spoke of *Das Rheingold* as a curious harlequinade of gods, dwarfs and giants. It should be read, he says, between the lines or through the lines or yawned at. There are those who can still read into it all a real drama of which their own lives are part. For the rest of us, until we have had the chance of learning the music as Shaw did, we can be thankful for the brief moving moments when words, music and gestures focus suddenly on the same point and for the blessed illuminations when here and there *leit-motifs* show the significance which Wagner intended.

#### The Orchestration of Sibelius

It is not always apparent to concertgoers what a marvellous orchestrator Sibelius was. I first became conscious of this when I was

timpanist in the school orchestra and adopted an order of preference for composers based on their use and misuse of the timps. (Schumann, for instance, was hopeless; the Russians, also Verdi and Brahms, very good.) Sibelius came high on the list; at the end of *Karelia* there are forty-eight bars of continuous drum roll with the second and fourth beat of each bar accentuated. Little else goes on in the orchestra at that time to assist the drum men, for a number of different pieces of music are being played simultaneously, creating different rhythms and harmonies, even different emotions. The technical feat of composition involved in combining all these is tremendous. Often the strings are chattering away to themselves in divided harmonies, while the woodwind are up to something apparently completely unrelated and the brass interject here and there with a logic entirely their own. Out of it all comes, without question, grand music. The first L.P. record I ever bought was Sibelius' Second Symphony; one can pay no greater respect to a composer, alive or dead.

ROBIN DENNISTON.

## British Business To-day

### THE INFLUENCE OF FASHION ON INDUSTRY

By HON. SPENCER LOCH

A LARGE majority of the public, no doubt, look upon fashion or the *haute couture* as an expensive joke. One which really is of interest only to the very rich and fashionable, to the Press, and to those international matrons who are determined to climb the social ladder, and feel the familiar use of some of the leading designers' names indicates that they have reached the top.

The most obvious indication of the importance of fashion, and the increasing importance of a woman's world, is clearly indicated by the space that is being allocated to women's interests by daily newspapers, weekly publications, and periodicals.

The influence of a successful designer goes far beyond his own House, which can handle only a comparatively small number of customers. Most sales executives agree that to-day women have much more "buying influence" than men. The man may foot the

## BRITISH BUSINESS TO-DAY

bill, but there are very few products on which his choice will not be influenced by feminine guile in one way or another. Advertisers realize the importance of this—it is now quite normal for them to temper their top advertisements to women by photographing a named designer's costume, and thus increase the sales of motor cars, air tickets, drink, etc. Thus, the feminine appeal in advertising now goes far beyond a woman's world of lipstick and cooking-stoves.

There is still, however, an enormous scope for increase in this indirect sphere in developing the influence of Britain's leading designers both at home and abroad. Women love clothes to look at and talk about, even if (or perhaps especially if) they cannot afford to buy them; every salesman should consider how he can use this fact in his own promotion schemes, and though they may not realize it, the *haute couture* as a business, and the designer as an artist, are both very willing to try and co-operate.

There is, as well, the more direct influence which the fashion trade has on the textile industry. All the main Boards and Associations representing the different sections of the industry have, in one way or another, accepted this fact, and realize that more dress fabric can be sold if it is shown in the glamorous form of the finished article, than if it is merely shown in sample form. To an extent this is only a question of good salesmanship in presenting the product in the most effective manner. Some of the more far-sighted textile manufacturers are also looking towards the top designers to indicate future or advance trends in colour, as well as textile design.

In many foreign countries, over the past century or more, the shop window that can be created by the *couturier* has been recognized and developed by leading financiers and Governments. In France the Government has special subsidies—and very substantial ones—because they know that the employment and fortune of a very large part of their labour force depend on the success of the *couture* houses. Also, many businessmen connected with textiles find it well worth their while to subsidize still further the leading designers so as to see that French fashion stays in the forefront of the world, thereby bringing buyers to Paris and boosting the standing of French products abroad.

The far-sighted acumen of one financier in Paris has turned one designer into an industry covering most of Europe as well as the United States, and products from six companies

under one name have a turnover of six million pounds a year.

In the last twenty-five years, great steps forward have been made by British designers at all levels. Instead of there being only three or four *couture* houses in London, there are now eleven members of the Incorporated Society of London Fashion Designers, and in the top level of the wholesale trade, present-day design is as good as anywhere in the world. London has long had a name for beautifully tailored suits and coats. This, probably the natural outcome, grew from our reputation in the men's field for tailoring, that has long been firmly established. Although several members of the Incorporated Society prefer to stay in this field, the general scope is now enlarged to such an extent that the collections are as complete as those shown in any other fashion centre, and have recently enlarged to include top accessory firms who have been elected as Associate Members of the above-mentioned group. This general acknowledgement of the awareness of the British Fashion Industry is encouraging an ever-growing number of foreign buyers and Press from all

An Irish Coxswain



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## THE NATIONAL AND ENGLISH REVIEW

over the world to come to London in advance of Paris to view, buy or comment on the British openings.

During the top fashion period (London, Paris, and the Italian collections—the period ranging from mid-July to mid-August and from mid-January to mid-February) fashion reports are news in every continent in every language; unfortunately, at home in this country, we are inclined to ignore the market, and take the reports with a shrug, as only of interest to wives and girl friends.

This attitude is a very serious mistake; our textile and associated industries need every help they can have to sell successfully in world markets. If we have a flourishing *couture* trade, it will increase the sales of textiles as well as the sale of wholesale clothes. The more London is looked upon as a "fashion centre" the more all these trades will flourish and, because of the buying power of women, once they have accepted the fashion importance of London, so they will mark up in their minds all other goods exported from this country.

This may seem a glorified generalization, or almost amount to saying "if we sell more, we make greater sales." It is worth while, therefore, to take an actual example. Since the war, the Government and commercial leaders of Eire have greatly increased their exports by using the fashion bandwagon. They were in a weak position in that there were no established designers in Dublin, but, by carefully planned publicity, they very quickly made the best of the material available and, after a very short time indeed, stores on the American continent were holding "Irish Weeks," at which time everything displayed in the windows had been imported from Ireland. A perfect example of how fashion and a collection of clothes was used to promote goods of all sorts.

Italy has recently developed her fashion industry on a tremendous scale, subsidized by the Government, but organized by shipping interests. The gigantic scale of the Pitti Palace showings in Florence have skyrocketed fashion as an industry very close to the top of the Italian export trade.

The really top designers are artists as well as technicians, and generally find their time fully occupied in training their staff, and getting sufficient production through their work-rooms to pay their wages. It is up to the Government and commercial community as a whole to carry on from there, and make the most use of their achievements. London

itself is a great metropolis, probably not creating quite the same amount of elusive glamour that surrounds the fashion industry in Paris; it has, however, a great aura of glamour created by the Royal Court, and our young and unpretentiously elegant Queen.

We tend to look on ourselves as a masculine nation, and especially so in commerce; relying on trade achieved by traditional methods. Every report on export problems of recent years has stressed how we must move with the times in our methods of selling presentation if we are going to increase our foreign markets. In the Victorian days we were a masculine commercial country supplying the needs of those days; nowadays the world is largely a feminine market and we must, therefore, use the appropriate methods to get ourselves as a nation, and our products, thought highly of by women of every nationality. The easiest way we can do this is by supporting, publicizing and using for every form of promotion those creative and hard-working designers who have already done so much to put London on the fashion map. Fashion is not only a gimmick, but can be a long-term investment for over half the industry of the country. The foundation is there. Are we alive enough to use it?

SPENCER LOCH.

## Finance

By LOMBARDO

THE first phase of the Government's stern policy to curb inflation and restore confidence in the pound has proved successful in that the 2 per cent. increase in the Bank rate has had the intended effect of stemming the flight from sterling. The progress of the pound's rehabilitation was rapid and, although there are small fluctuations due to daily demands, it is, for the moment at least, back to parity with the dollar. Speculators were caught in a "squeeze" and potential borrowers in the London market have been put off by the expense involved. Many United Kingdom firms have postponed their plans for borrowing for capital investment, and the Capital Issues Committee has withheld permission to raise fresh capital in many cases which would formerly have received assent.

### Sterling Still Threatened

The potential threat to sterling has not been eradicated, however, since substantial holders of sterling, including those in the



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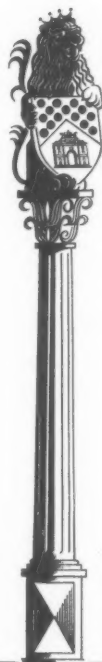
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**And still the wonder grew  
that one small head could carry all he knew—**

Perhaps Goldsmith's schoolmaster gained his rustic fame a shade too easily, since his only stalwart adversary was the village parson. Perhaps the country banker, too, had his circle of admirers who stood agape at his financial wisdom.

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sterling area such as India, will be tempted to draw on their holdings for investment or consumption and thus put a strain on the gold and dollar reserves of the United Kingdom. Such strains would increase the tendency to speculate against sterling, and any evidence that this country was not facing the problem would cause foreign balances to be withdrawn and the exchange crisis would recur. Weakness in the face of wage demands or failure to curtail Government spending would provide such evidence. Pressures on the sterling economy would increase if the decline in the purchasing power of the pound were not arrested. A declining currency does not attract overseas funds and diminishing confidence in the pound would lead in the end to devaluation.

Maintenance of severe monetary discipline, a really significant reduction in spending by the authorities and a firm stand against wage inflation are the main things that will impress the world overseas and go far to secure the restoration of confidence in the pound.

#### Re-adjustment in America

As we go to press the stock markets have had to face a supreme example of the volatility of the American investing public. The Dow Jones Industrial Index had fallen in a spate of selling to 419.79. This was not due to any sudden change in the U.S. economic outlook, but to a mercurial collapse in confidence that the high level of economic activity would be maintained. That this "Sentiment" was mercurial was proved by the fact that it needed only a "chins up, we're in very good shape" speech from the President to cause such a sustained rush to buy that the Index rose over 17 points to 437.13. This was the biggest gain since November 1929.

In conditions like these it is difficult to see the investment picture clearly and see it whole. The American economy has been running at a mounting pace and appears now to be flattening out at a high level. Spending by the authorities has been considerable, mainly on defence projects; this may or may not be maintained, but the tight money policy will continue for some time so business activity will slacken. As in Britain, the authorities are putting into practice the theories of the late Lord Keynes, and in both countries it is hoped that confidence in the basic ability of the nation can be maintained until the government judge it right to loosen the screws and stimulate activity at a controlled pace. Time will show whether they can indeed maintain control.

LOMBARDO.

## Records

By ALEC ROBERTSON

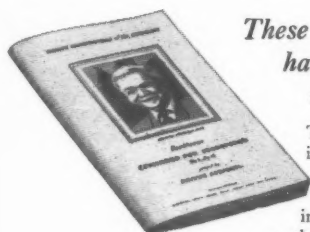
#### Orchestral

**R**ACHMANINOV'S Second Symphony must be one of the most lyrical works in its kind ever composed and, without the cuts usually made, would prove, perhaps, cloying. Sir Adrian Boult, with the L.P.O., in no way underlines the many luscious melodies and makes a very brilliant thing of the Scherzo—his interpretation is therefore less ardent than that of Steinberg (Capitol CTL7085), but nevertheless very satisfying and better recorded (R.C.A. RB16026). Boult and the R.P.O. accompany Dohnányi, as soloist, in performances of his *Variations on a Nursery Song* and Second Piano Concerto (B minor). These performances were recorded after Dohnányi; then in his seventy-ninth year, had played the *Variations* at the Edinburgh Festival last year. His is restrained, poetical playing, lacking now some brilliance, but very pleasing: and it is interesting to have a recording of the Concerto—a work new to most of us—which displays his fine craftsmanship and abundance of melody (H.M.V. ALP1514). The same qualities are to be found in Saint-Saëns Third Violin Concerto (also a B minor work) which is beautifully played by Campoli, with the L.S.O. conducted by Pierino Gamba. On the reverse the violinist gives a brilliant performance of Paganini's *Concerto in One Movement*, in Kreisler's arrangement: a show-piece of course, but a good one (Decca LXT5302). Sir Thomas Beecham, with the R.P.O., conducting Bizet is always an enjoyable experience, and his performances of the two L'Arlesienne Suites (with the "Patrie" Overture) knocks all other competitors out of the ring. It is sheer delight, with over and over again little touches that no other conductor seems able to give us (H.M.V. ALP 1497).

Kempe is now firmly established as a great Wagnerian conductor and, with the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, gives splendid performances of the *Tannhäuser* Overture and Venusberg Music, *The Flying Dutchman* Overture, and Dawn and Siegfried's Journey to the Rhine from *The Twilight of the Gods*: beautiful orchestral playing and excellent recording (H.M.V. ALP1513).

At last a really good performance and recording of Sibelius's haunting *Swan of Tuonela* (which was, I believe, played at his funeral) coupled with symphonic fragments

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## Records

from Strauss's *Die Liebe der Danae*, an opera I revelled in, and—an odd choice—a not very interesting sample of Villa-Lobos—the fourth of the *Bachianas Brasileiras*. All these are superbly played by Sir John Barbirolli and the Hallé Orchestra (H.M.V. ALP1335).

## Chamber Music

A very pleasant novelty are Four Quintets by J. C. Bach for two each of clarinets and horns, and a bassoon, played expertly by the French Wind Ensemble (London L'Oiseau Lyre OL50135). These attractive pieces were probably written for the Guards bands' daily concerts in St. James's Park and are certainly more than occasional music.

*Also recommended.* Very good and artistic playing of two sonatas for violin and piano by Mozart (B flat major, K.454; A major, K.526) by Arthur Grumiaux and Clara Haskil (Philips ABL3144).

## Instrumental

I cannot praise highly enough the exquisite playing of the Russian pianist Sviatoslav Richter in six of Schumann's *Fantasiestücke*, the *Waldszenen*, and a *March*, very well recorded on D.G.G. D.G.M. 18355. This pianist, born in 1915, has not so far consented to play outside the U.S.S.R.: one can only hope he relents. The beauty of his singing tone in *Des Abends* and *Warum?* must be heard to be believed: it is ravishing. He has great power, as well as great delicacy, at his command and is, to my mind, a superlatively great artist.

Gieseking plays a selection of Mendelssohn's *Songs without Words* with the same affection and understanding he brought to Grieg's *Lyric Pieces*, though his deliberate tempi in some of the pieces may not please everyone. The recording is excellent (Columbia 33CX 1479).

## Choral and Song

Palestrina's music can never sound right sung, as one often hears it, by female sopranos, and for this reason, and also because of a cathedral-like acoustic, I welcome the performance of the Pope Marcellus Mass, sung by the Aachen Cathedral Choir, conducted by T. B. Rehmann, with boys' voices on the top line (D.G.G. Archive AP13032).

## Operatic

The recording of Mozart's great opera *seria*, *Idomeneo*, excellent in itself, gives us an outstandingly good performance of the work, as heard at Glyndebourne, by the *ad hoc* Festival Orchestra and chorus, conducted by John Pritchard, with Richard Lewis, Léopold

## RECORDS

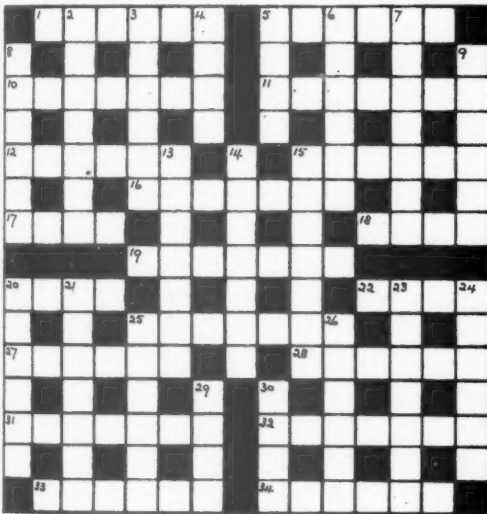
Simoneau, Sena Jurinac, and Lucille Udovick in the chief parts; the last named, in the difficult part of Electra, is not quite up to the standard of the rest. The expressive recitatives, particularly in the poignant meeting of father and son, are most sensitively handled, and the arias and concerted pieces are beautifully sung, with Sena Jurinac and Richard Lewis excelling (H.M.V. ALP1515-17). There are many virtues in a new recording of Humperdinck's ever enchanting opera *Hansel and Gretel*, in particular a better witch (Res Fischer) than in the Columbia Set, but the earlier set (33CX1097-7) has livelier orchestral playing and better vocal acting from the two children (D.G.G. DGM18217-8).

### Historical Records

The famous Cortot-Thibaud-Casal discs of Schubert's B Flat Trio and Haydn's G Major Trio are reissued, very successfully, on H.M.V. COLH12 and, with equal success, the Brandenburg Concertos played by the Adolf Busch Chamber Orchestra and conducted by its founder (COLC13-14). It is satisfying to find one's recollections of the greatness of these performances are not at fault and I eagerly await more reissues of the kind. The discs are attractively "packaged" and accompanied by interesting booklets.

ALEC ROBERTSON.

## NATIONAL & ENGLISH REVIEW CROSSWORD No. 15



A prize of one guinea will be awarded for the first correct solution opened on November 15th. Please cut out and send, with your name and address, to National and English Review (Crossword), 2 Breams Buildings, London, E.C.4.

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### SOLUTION TO CROSSWORD PUZZLE NUMBER 14

ACROSS.—1. Ardent. 4. Recreate. 9. Taguan. 10. Isolated. 11. Dreams. 12. Restrain. 13. Ned. 14. Tsetse. 17. Slipper. 21. Tester. 25. And. 26. Compound. 27. Moment. 28. Acid drop. 29. Rulers. 30. Everyman. 31. Tellus.

DOWN.—1. Antidote. 2. Doggerel. 3. Near miss. 5. Ensued. 6. Relate. 7. Astray. 8. Ending. 12. Respond. 15. Eil. 16. Get. 18. Resolute. 19. Ethereal. 20. Protests. 22. Ice-axe. 23. Imbibe. 24. Goody. 25. Angora.

### ACROSS

1. Falstaff's crony takes charge. (6)
5. One needs to pack tightly to start this game. (6)
10. Looks like a sapper in disguise. (7)
11. Annoy honoured companion with a silly smile. (7)
12. Bent or deformed Frenchman. (6)
15. Hymn derived from pagan theme. (6)
16. Storm in theatrical circles. (7)
17. A striking feature of the eye? (4)
18. Spoken finale to a Beethoven symphony. (4)
19. The laundress uses it for expression. (7)
20. Prod broken sink. (4)
22. Spoils for the war god. (4)
25. Gives evidence at trials. (7)
26. Cuts returning company plaster. (6)
28. It doesn't come only in leap-year! (6)
31. Stupid, because I take one over the eight. (7)
32. Encourage changes in a team. (7)
33. Says something felonious? (6)
34. Broken rest is relative. (6)

### CLUES

### DOWN

2. Affect strongly, as the reporter might say. (7)
3. Profligate apothecary's container for national brew. (6)
4. Final model for a snob. (4)
5. Get the gun ready to shoot a bird. (4)
6. A boast?—Go away! (6)
7. Freeman who returned common food to a lady. (7)
8. Doctor appearing in a prison play. (6)
9. "Man is a tool-using . . ." Carlyle (*Sartor Resartus*) (6)
13. Buckled toe ring for Malayan pygmy. (7)
14. Sail unpopular with small boys? (7)
15. Advancements in the way of small change. (7)
20. Depressing as mild corruption. (6)
21. He's used to looking people in the eye. (7)
23. Excite a soldier in front of the Portrait Gallery. (7)
24. Design may be approved by someone. (6)
25. I've to follow the performance in an energetic way. (6)
26. West country delicacies for a feast of acrobatics. (6)
29. Hardy heroine. (4)
30. One gains in them by marriage. (4)



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